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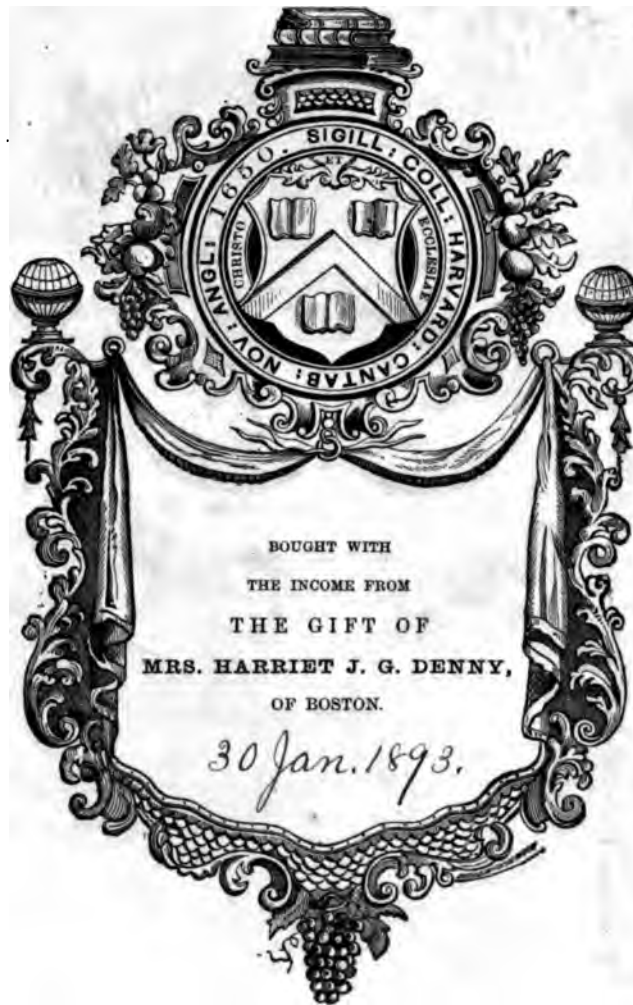
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ADDISON'S
INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIAL REFORM
OF HIS AGE.

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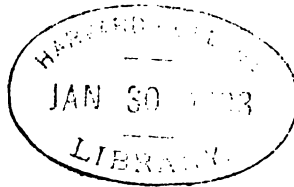
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When, in 1643, the Puritans raised their heads, both in the camp and in the House of Commons, England began to change her face, and when the Independent party had got the superiority in the state, no trace was left of Old Merry England. It was not enough, that heavy penalties were decreed against the lighter vices which had never before been even misdemeanours, severe laws were passed against all public amusements: the May-poles were hewn down, the play-houses closed; orders were given that Christmas, from time immemorial, the season of mirth and joy, should be strictly observed as a fast. Now the mansions of the great resounded no more with revels, the village greens were deserted, and the Christmas carols were heard no more. The innocent intercourse of the sexes was looked upon with an evil eye by the austere sectaries, illicit love by which nobody's interests were hurt, was made a misdemeanour, adultery was punished with death. This immoderate zeal of the Puritans which was so little tempered by humanity and common sense, exasperated the nation more and more against its oppressors, and if the Puritan with his eyes turned up to heaven, his demure looks, his lank hair, his plain dress, his unstarched linen, his cant and strange scruples had been a subject of mockery and contempt, he now became a subject of hatred and animosity.*) — The military tyranny passed away, and the Restoration delivered the country from the oppression of the Independent party. But just as in France, after the death of Lewis XIV who, in his old age, had become religious and made devotion a fashion, the orgies of the Regency encouraged all excess of licentiousness and impudence; so in England a period of wild and desperate dissoluteness followed the domination of the saints. Every body hastened to indemnify himself by licentiousness and immorality for years of mortification. The moral state of the nation is reflected in the literature of that age. The most eminent writers were the panders of vice and indecency, instead of being the promoters of virtue. It is especially in the dramas that we find distilled and condensed, as Macaulay says, the essential spirit of the fashionable world during the Anti-puritan reaction. This part of the English literature is clever, indeed, and very entertaining, but the authors' wit is sullied with indecency, the elegance of their style disfigured by grossness and immorality. Even the pathos of tragedy was intermixed with ribaldry, but still more immoral was the tendency of comedy. Adultery, profligacy, contempt of morals and religion, formed the prominent features of the hero's character. "The Puritan had affected formality; the comic poet laughed at decorum.

*) Macaulay, History of England. T. E. Vol. I p. 158.

The Puritan had frowned at innocent diversions; the comic poet took under his patronage the most flagitious excesses. The Puritan had canted; the comic poet blasphemed. The Puritan had made an affair of gallantry felony without benefit of clergy; the comic poet represented it as an honourable distinction.*) — This state of immorality was not only the effect of the Anti-puritan reaction, it must also be imputed to the corruption of the court. Supreme power was in the hands of a libertine, and inimical as the reign of Charles II was to the political interests of England, it was still more pernicious to her morals. When the Earl of Shaftesbury once entered the room of the King, Charles called to him: "Lo, there comes the most dissolute man among all my subjects." Shaftesbury, deeply bowing to the King, replied: "Yes, Sire, among the subjects." This answer, unduly frank as it was, was thoroughly true. The Diary of Samuel Pepys and the Memoirs of Hamilton paint the court-life of that age in such dark colours, that we should suspect them of exaggeration, if the accounts of all contemporaries did not agree with them. The dissolute manners of the court infected the whole nation. Though scarcely any rank or profession escaped the infection of the prevailing immorality, the aristocracy was most deeply infected, and the comic poet was the mouthpiece of this most corrupted part of a corrupted society. — When the Revolution of 1688 had dethroned James II. and made the son-in-law of this foolish and heartless man, William, Prince of Orange, King of England, the court became more virtuous, and did not give any encouragement to licentiousness, as that of the Stuarts had done. Mary's religious principles were strict, and William, though born with violent passions and quick sensibilities, knew how to hide them before the eyes of the world. Then a remarkable change of manners took place, chiefly in the middle classes. They had at first participated in the natural reaction against the immoderate austerity of the Roundheads, but soon enough, deterred by the dissoluteness of the Restoration, they had turned again to Puritanism in its milder forms; they now became highly pleased that religious sense, civil honesty, and simple manners were no longer a subject of mockery. But in the higher classes of society the depravity of the Restoration did not cease, and the manners of the aristocracy retained a deep tincture of the reign of Charles. Looseness of manners and sprightly licentiousness still formed a part of the character of a man of breeding. The same manners that were prevalent in real life, were exhibited in the dramatic compositions of that time. Congreve, though less indecent than Dryden and Wycherley, is by no means friendly to morality. Vice, though occasionally lashed, is more frequently painted in the most attractive colours, and the dramatic works of Etherege, Ravenscraft and others are no less obscene and shocking. But the regeneration of morals which was then beginning, became visible in several attacks against the immoral stage. Sir Richard Blackmore published the heroic poem of Prince Arthur in 1695, and his Satire upon Wit in 1699, both written against the licentious poets of that age. Of much greater influence was the work of a clergyman, Jeremy Collier, whose "A short view of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage" uttered what the greater part of the nation had felt for a long time, the aversion to the demoralizing abuse of the stage, an institution which should serve for quite contrary purposes. The consequences of this book soon appeared:

*) Macaulay, Comic dramatists of the Restoration.

in Farquhar and Vanburgh the first traces of a reformation of manners are already struggling with the general lasciviousness. In this laudable effort comedy persisted, and, after a short interval, it became — intentionally moralizing. (During the reign of Queen Anne the nation made considerable advances in morality. The queen herself, a wife of correct morals, gave a good example, though the high aristocracy under the mask of a certain decency persevered in the dissolute manners of the preceding age. In 1704, an express order forbade all dramatic representations which were contrary to religion and good manners. Colley Cibber, Steele, and others have broken with the former immorality: the sanctity of matrimony is untouched, and though there is still such bawdry in the pieces of Steele, as would make the blood rush into the cheeks of any woman, Steele was the first of all English writers who really seemed to admire and respect women. While Congreve looked on them as mere instruments of gallantry, Steele admired their virtue, acknowledged their sense, and adored their purity and beauty. *) From the preface of the *Lying Lover* we learn that Steele considered the stage as an establishment for moral improvement. (But much greater than the influence of these moralizing dramatic compositions on the improvement of manners, was that of a new and peculiar kind of literature which consisted in short essays on men and manners, published periodically. The credit of commencing this branch of literature is due to Richard Steele, who, on the 12th. of April 1709, published the first number of the *Tatler*. The *Spectator* and the *Guardian* followed. But these periodical papers, generally known under the name of "moral papers," would never have effected so great a social reform but for the assistance of a man who is the author of the most approved pieces, of the "finest strokes of wit and humour" in them. (Tatl. 271.) "I fared like a distressed prince," Steele says in the preface of the 4th volume of the *Tatler*, "who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary; when I had once called him in, I could not subsist without depending on him." This auxiliary was Joseph Addison.)

Life and writings of Addison.

Joseph Addison was born on the 1st of May 1672, at Milston, near Ambrosebury, in the county of Wilts. His father was rector of Milston, when Joseph was born, and became afterwards archdeacon of Coventry and dean of Lichfield. Addison was at first sent to school to a Mr. Naish, at Ambrosebury, afterwards to Mr. Taylor, at Salisbury; in 1683 he was committed to the care of Mr. Shaw, at Lichfield, and in 1686 he was removed to the Charter-House, where he became acquainted with Steele. In 1687, Joseph, at fifteen, possessed of a classical taste and a considerable stock of learning, went to Oxford; here he was entered into Queen's College, and afterwards elected into Magdalen College, where he vigorously pursued the study of the Greek and Roman authors. By the persuasions of Charles Montague he was prevailed upon to relinquish his design of entering into holy orders, and having spent ten years in Magdalen College, he obtained a yearly pension of 300 pounds

*) Thackeray, *English humourists*. T. E. p. 128.

from the Crown by the interference of the Lord Chancellor Somers, which enabled him, in 1699, to go on his travels. He visited France and Italy, and returned to England through Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, after having passed nearly three years on the Continent. He now remained for some time without any public employment, till, in 1704, he was appointed to succeed Locke in the place of Commissioner of Appeals. In 1705, he went to Hannover with Lord Halifax, and, the year after, he was appointed Under-Secretary of State. His next advancement, in 1709, was to the post of Secretary under the Marquis of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. When, in 1710, the Whig ministers were turned out, and the Tories called to office, Addison's Secretaryship was taken from him. Upon the death of Queen Anne, the Lords Justices, in whom the regency was lodged, appointed him their Secretary and soon after the accession of King George I, when the Earl of Sunderland was constituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Addison became a second time Secretary for the affairs of that kingdom. But Addison did not remain long in Ireland. In 1715, his Lordship resigned the post of Lord Lieutenant, and Addison was made one of the Lords of Trade. In 1717, he was raised to his highest elevation, the post of Secretary of State. His impaired health, however, compelled him soon to solicit his dismissal, which he obtained, and to retire upon a pension of fifteen hundred a year. On the 17th of June 1719 he died, leaving behind him only one daughter, by the Countess of Warwick, to whom he had been married but three years.

Addison first distinguished himself by his Latin compositions, published in the *Musae Anglicanae*, which were deservedly praised, among others by Boileau. His first English performance is a copy of verses to Dryden, which was soon followed by a translation of the fourth *Georgic*, of which Dryden makes honorable mention, and by an *Essay on the Georgics*. His next publication was a poem, entitled "An Account of the greatest English Poets." In 1695, Addison addressed a poem upon one of King William's campaigns, to Lord Somers, who was so much delighted with it that he procured him the means for travelling. On his return to England, he was introduced by Lord Halifax to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin as a fit person to celebrate the great battle of Blenheim. Addison undertook the proposed task, and his Campaign was as much admired by the public as by the Minister. Soon after this poem, he published his *Travels in Italy*, with a dedication to Lord Somers. This work was followed by the *Opera of Rosamond*. Whilst he was in Ireland, he wrote his contributions to the *Tatler* which was then published by Richard Steele. In 1710, during the election for the new parliament, Addison published a political journal, entitled the *Whig Examiner*, and when, in 1711, the *Tatler* was succeeded by the *Spectator*, Addison wrote those essays which entitle him to be considered "not only as the greatest of the English essayists, but as the forerunner of the great English novelists."*) After, in 1713, he had brought on the stage his tragedy of *Cato*, he gave his assistance to the *Guardian*, by which the *Spectator* had been replaced in the same year. In 1715, he published the *Freeholder*, a paper, written in defence of the government. In the following year, the *Drummer*, a comedy, was performed. The *Dialogues upon Medals*, for which the materials were collected in Italy, and the *Treatise*

*) Macaulay, *Life and writings of Addison*.

upon the Christian Religion were published after his death by Tickell, to the care of whom he had intrusted the publication of his works, which he had dedicated to Craggs, principal Secretary of State, a very few days before his death.

Addison's influence on his age.

English poetry then was but an imitation of French poetry; Shakespeare and Milton had been succeeded by Dryden and Pope, and Boileau's theory was predominant in England as well as in France. Poetry was nothing else but a mechanical art, and he who knew best that conventional system of rules, was the most accomplished, fashionable, and perfect poet. Everywhere correct language, exact versification, sprightly wit, but nowhere *"ein warmer hauch, der sich warm ins gemüt senkt."**) Poetry was not distinguished by force or greatness of fancy, by pathos or enthusiasm, but only by wit and understanding. The drama of this period was bombastic and affected, and filled with long tirades of sentiments as that of Corneille and Racine. Addison is by no means exempt from the weaknesses of his age; all his poems have the stamp of the "siècle de Louis XIV"; his Cato and many of his critical essays show, how much he is addicted to the taste of the French school in which he had been trained. *"In seinen kritiken verrät er selarische abhängigkeit vom misverstandenem Aristoteles und nur zu gut verstandenen Boileau; er vermag, wie beinahe alle seine zeitgenossen, eigentliche poesie und rhetorik oder verständige reflexion nicht zu trennen; er legt der phantasie ungebührlich geringes und dem scharfsinn ungebührlich grosses gewicht bei"***); nevertheless he had a more worthy notion of poetry, and a more refined taste than all his contemporaries. He knows that what the French call "Bienséance" in poetry, has been found out of latter years, he regrets that force and spirit have given way to scrupulous nicety and exactness, and Shakespeare is considered by him as a remarkable instance of a great genius (Sp. 160). He took a particular delight in the fine old popular ballads; he gave a critic of the old song of Chevy-Chase***) of which he professed himself a great admirer (Sp. 70, 72); he proved his unprejudiced taste for nature and truth in poetry by recommending the ancient ballad of the Two Children in the Wood †) (Sp. 85). The effect which he produced by his critical essays on the poetical taste of the public was not great; those in which he raised his voice against the contempt with which the old ballads were regarded, were even censured and derided. Much greater was his influence on the prose of his age. Good sense and a correct and polished style are characteristic of his prose. Nobody ever had a better relish for fine writing, nobody ever possessed all the requisites of a good prosewriter in a higher degree of perfection than he. Bishop Hurd praises the elegance, the correctness and the harmony of his style; Dr. Johnson says, that whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.

*) Hettner, Literaturgeschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. I. theil. 3. auflage. p. 239.

**) Augustin, J. Addison's beiträge zum Zuschauer und Plauderer. Mit einer biographischen einleitung von Ad. Stern. p. XXVII.

***) Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. T. E. Vol. I. p. 1. 59.

†) ibid. Vol. III. p. 172.

These literary talents were not only employed by him to cultivate the esthetic taste of his countrymen, he also made them subservient to the interests of his party. Addison was no orator, and oratorical talents then were of much less importance than now-a-days. As in the reign of Queen Anne the speeches which were delivered in parliament, would not be published by the press, they could only produce an effect on those who heard them, and the only means, therefore, to influence the public opinion of the nation was the political treatise. Addison who rose to a post which Dukes endeavoured to obtain, increased his political influence by his pen, and there is no doubt, but that he became of much greater importance to the whigs by his literary assistance than by his influential station.

In the third place, he employed his literary talents to fortify the religious sense of the nation. It is an undeniable fact that in the XVIIIth century not only frivolous courtiers such as Rochester, Buckingham, Sir William Temple, and others, but also serious men of science very much differed in their opinions from the doctrines of the established church. Hooker did not scruple to confess that revelation had but a claim to be believed as far as it agreed with reason, and Herbert of Cherbury even made a system of his religious doubts and convictions. Chillingworth took the same course, and when the influence of natural philosophy became more and more powerful, when Spinoza pleaded for the most absolute freedom of thought in philosophy and religion, the adherers to the new way of thinking, who after the fall of James II were called Freethinkers or Deists, increased from day to day. *)

Addison, who is of opinion that an honest Englishman ought to be a Whig in politics, but a Tory in church matters, takes every opportunity to give up the freethinkers to public contempt; he calls them atheists, men who distinguish themselves by looseness of principles, who extirpate common sense, and propagate infidelity, who have the ambition of appearing more wise than the rest of mankind, upon no other pretence than that of dissenting from them etc. etc. (Tatl. 111). We know that all the immoderate zeal of its adversaries was not able to oppress Deism. Locke's Essay on Human Understanding had advanced the new doctrine not a little and smoothed the way to Collins, Toland, Tindal, Morgan, Chubb, and others. — But Addison did not only write polemical essays against Deism. In his religious meditations which will bear comparison with the most celebrated sermons of those days, he continually inculcates on his countrymen the truths of revealed religion, and thus no less contributes to revive and fortify the religious faith of the people than Barrow, Tillotson, Burnet, and others. — No service, however, was greater than that which Addison's literary talents rendered to morality. We know that at the beginning of the XVIIIth century a social reform was preparing, and I shall now expose the great influence that Addison had upon it. The means by which he exercised his moral influence on the public were the periodical papers, the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian, of which Steele was the father, but Addison the soul.

History of the moral papers.

Since 1602, periodical papers had been published in England; most of them were political, some theological. Daniel Defoe, the author of Robinson Crusoe, published, in 1704,

*) Hettner, literaturgeschichte. 1. buch, 2 capitel: Die anfänge des deismus.

his Review, in which also questions of morality and taste were discussed. The merit of all these works is small. Richard Steele was the first who laid the scheme of those periodical papers which will live as long as English language and literature. "Though the other papers, Steele says in the advertisement of the *Tatler*, which are published for the use of the good people of England have certainly very wholesome effects, and are laudable in their particular kinds, they do not seem to come up to the main design of such narrations, which, I humbly presume, should be principally intended for the use of politic persons, who are so public-spirited as to neglect their own affairs to look into transactions of state. Now these gentlemen, for the most part, being persons of strong zeal and weak intellects, it is both a charitable and necessary work to offer something, whereby such worthy and well affected members of the commonwealth may be instructed, after their reading, what to think: which shall be the end and purpose of this my paper." The *Tatler* was to appear three times a-week, on the days on which the post left London for the country, in the form of a single small sheet; the price of each number one penny. The first number appeared on the 12th of April 1709. The author concealed himself under the fictitious name of Isaac Bickerstaff, which had then become most popular in England by Swift, who had assumed this name in his satirical pamphlets against John Partridge, the maker of almanacks. As Steele, who had been appointed gazetteer by Sunderland, was able to draw his public intelligence from the best sources, politics were not excluded from the *Tatler*; but when, in the year 1710, the whig ministry were dismissed, and the *Gazette* was taken from Steele, the source, from which the *Tatler* drew his news, dried up, the political essays altogether disappeared, and the *Tatler* became exclusively a moral paper, which was "to expose, as the author stated, the false arts of life, to pull off the disguises of cunning, vanity, and affectation, and to recommend a general simplicity in dress, discourse, and behaviour." Addison who was in Ireland, when the *Tatler* began to appear, had no sooner heard of it than he determined to give his assistance, and there is no doubt, but it was in consequence of the contributions of Addison that the *Tatler* soon became more popular than any periodical paper. When, after the fall of the Whig ministry, Isaac Bickerstaff became silent on politics, Addison was not at all sorry that the *Tatler* completely changed its character, and whenever his friend had a mind to break his silence, he admonished him to keep peace with the new government and not to stake his place in the Stamp Office. Addison's contributions to the *Tatler* are a series of essays on morals and manners. He has taken upon him, to censure the irregularities and the faults of his age and country (*Tatl.* 111 & 122), and he will transmit to posterity an account of everything that is monstrous in his own times (*Tatl.* 226). In Bishop Hurd's edition of the works of Addison there are 62 numbers of the *Tatler* which he ascribes to Addison, and these "sixty numbers are, in the opinion of Macaulay, not merely the best, but so decidedly the best that any five of them are more valuable than all the two hundred numbers in which he had no share."*) Steele readily acknowledged the superior genius of Addison, and considered himself a distressed prince who had called in a powerful neighbour. When Steele was resolved to bring the *Tatler* to a close, and to commence a new work on

*) Macaulay, *Life and writings of Addison*.

an improved plan, he thought it his duty to confess that the most approved pieces in it were not his own; "the hand that has assisted me in those noble discourses . . . is a person who is too fondly my friend ever to own them; but I should little deserve to be his, if I usurped the glory of them. I must acknowledge at the same time, that I think the finest strokes of wit in all Mr. Bickerstaff's lucubrations are those for which he is also beholden to him." (T. 271). Confiding in the fertility of Addison's genius Steele announced a new work which should be published daily. On the 2nd of January 1711 appeared the last Tatler, — the lucubrations of Sir Isaac Bickerstaff were already to be had in three volumes in octavo, which were soon followed by a fourth — at the beginning of March appeared the first number of the Spectator.

The plan of the Spectator may be projected in concert with Steele, the Spectator himself was conceived and drawn by Addison who was the model of this portrait himself. The Spectator is a gentleman who, after having applied himself with much diligence to his studies at the university, travelled into foreign countries; he distinguished himself by an insatiable thirst after knowledge, and a most profound silence, the consequence of an insurmountable bashfulness. After his return to London, he liked to frequent the places of general resort, in order to overhear the conversation of men, and to observe their manners without ever opening his lips, but in his own club. This club is composed of a gentleman of Worcestershire, Sir Roger de Coverley, the favourite character of Addison, of a member of the Inner Temple, "a man of great probity, wit, and understanding," of Sir Andrew Freeport, a merchant, "a person of indefatigable industry, strong reason and great experience," of Captain Sentry, "a gentleman of great courage and understanding, but invincible modesty," of the gallant Will Honeycomb, a gentleman in the decline of his life, an honest, worthy man, "where women are not concerned," and of a clergyman "a very philosophic man, of great learning and great sanctity of life." (S. 1 & 2). These friends were first sketched by Steele, but Addison retouched and coloured two of them, Sir Roger and Will Honeycomb, of whom he can in truth be called the creator. The novel which connects the single essays, — 635 in number, of which, after Drake, Addison wrote 274, Steele 240, and the other assistants 121 — is constructed without art or labour. Sir Roger comes up to town to see Prince Eugen; the Spectator pays a visit in the summer to Coverley Hall; at last a letter brings the club the news that Sir Roger is dead. Will Honeycomb marries, the club breaks up, and the Spectator resigns his functions. "Such events, Macaulay says, can hardly be said to form a plot; yet they are related with such humour, such pathos, such knowledge of the human heart, that they charm us on the hundredth perusal." The soul of the Spectator was Addison: "his worst essay is as good as the best essay of any of his coadjutors." (Mac.). Allegories, eastern apologues, characters, scenes from common life, satires on fashionable follies, religious meditations — which filled the Saturday's papers — form an incomparable series of papers. No wonder that the success of the Spectator was beyond all expectation. The number of copies daily distributed was at first 3000 (S. 10); but the circle of readers widened more and more (S. 124); — of particular papers, it is said, 20000 copies were required —; the sale had risen to nearly 4000 when the stamp tax was imposed, and whilst a great many journals ceased to appear, the price of every single paper of the Spectator was raised to

two-pence. (S. 445.) Swift then wrote to Mrs. Dingley: “— now every single half sheet pays a halfpenny to the Queen. The *Observer* is fallen; the *Medleys* are jumbled together with the *Flying Post*; the *Examiner* is deadly sick; the *Spectator* keeps up and doubles its price.” (Lond. Aug. 7. 1712). Many people preferred retrenching their ordinary expense to drinking their tea every morning by itself without the addition of the *Spectator* — for in many families the *Spectator* was indeed a part of the tea-equipage (S. 92 & 10) — and those who could not buy the papers “by retail,” took patience and bought them “in the lump,” as soon as numbers enough had appeared to form a volume, for the volumes were exempt from the tax. “The sale of the *Spectator*, Macaulay says, must be considered as indicating a popularity quite as great as that of the most successful works of Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Dickens in our own time.” When, on the 6th of December 1712, the *Spectator* ceased to appear, Steele could give the account that, besides the daily sale, an edition of the former volumes of the *Spectator* of above 9000 each book was already sold off, and that the tax on each half sheet had brought into the stamp-office one week with another above 20 £ a-week. (S. 555). —

Addison's contributions to the *Spectator*, which have been marked by any letter in the name of the muse CLIO, were chiefly moralizing. He has taken his resolution always to promote virtue and good sense, and to attack vice and folly wherever they could be met with. “No order of persons should think themselves too considerable to be advised; it is not quality, but innocence, which exempts men from reproof.” “If I meet, he says, with anything in city, court, or country, that shocks modesty or good manners, I shall use my utmost endeavours to make an example of it.” (S. 34). He will reprehend those vices “which are too trivial for the chastisement of the law and too fantastical for the cognizance of the pulpit.” (S. 34). He looks upon himself as one set to watch the manners and behaviour of his countrymen and contemporaries. (S. 435). He is resolved to refresh the memories of his readers from day to day, till “he has recovered them out of that desperate state of vice and folly into which the age is fallen,” and he recommends his speculations to all well-regulated families, to all unbusied gentlemen, to all addle heads, into which he will distil sound and wholesome sentiments, and especially to the female world. (S. 10). “To banish vice and ignorance out of the territories of Great Britain” is the great and only end of his speculations. (S. 58). But the *Spectator* does not only publish “papers of morality and good sense,” but also “speculations of wit and humour.” Though he rather aims at instructing than diverting, he will sometimes incite men to mirth and laughter; but if his mirth should cease to be instructive, it will never cease to be innocent. (S. 179). It is his opinion that “discourses of morality and reflections upon human nature, are the best means we can make use of, to improve our minds and gain a true knowledge of ourselves, and consequently to recover our souls out of the vice, ignorance, and prejudice which naturally cleave to them.” He professes himself a promoter of these great ends and flatters himself “to contribute something to the polishing of men's minds.” (S. 215). —

purpose:

That at the close of 1712 the *Spectator* ceased to appear, was not the consequence of an external constraint; but Steele and Addison felt that the *Spectator* and his club had been long enough before the town, and that it was time to replace them by a new set of

characters. On the 13th of March 1713, the Guardian was published. An amiable old gentleman, Nestor Ironsides, is the guardian of the children of his deceased friend, Sir Marmaduke Lizard, and the adviser of his widow, a lady of great understanding and noble spirit. The mother and the children ask the guardian's advice and instruction in all the affairs of domestic life (G. 2). This is the original plan of the paper; but Nestor Ironsides, Lady Lizard, and her marriageable daughters never imparted a great interest to the nation. Addison who, at the appearance of the Guardian, was engaged to bring his Cato on the stage, did not contribute anything till 66 numbers had appeared; but notwithstanding the assistance he gave afterwards, it was impossible to make the Guardian what the Spectator had been. Addison, indeed, was at first full of hopes. He says, that Isaac Bickerstaff and the Spectator were nearly related to the family of the Ironsides, and that all of them had a wonderful inclination to give good advice, that above a hundred different authors had endeavoured to imitate their family-way of writing, but "none of them had hit upon the art," and that their projects had always dropt after a few unsuccessful essays. (G. 98). The Guardian was near to share the same fate; for Mr. Ironside was at his wit's end, and Lady Lizard and her tea table was grown a stale joke, when Addison had the highly humorous idea to erect a lion's head at Button's coffee-house in Covent Garden. This head should open his mouth at all hours for the reception of letters and papers, and all that the lion swallowed, should be digested by Addison for the use of the public, and published as "Roarings of the Lion." (G. 98.) The lion's mouth should never be defiled with scandal, nor worry any man's reputation (G. 114); it should never utter anything that was inconsistent with common honour and decency (G. 134). We see that the tendency of the Guardian was that of the Tatler and Spectator. While the clergy were employed in extirpating mortal sins and crimes of a higher nature, Addison would rally the world out of indecencies and venial transgressions (G. 117).

But no propitious stars watched over the fate of the Guardian. On the first of October 1713, the last number appeared. Then Addison conceived the design of adding an eighth volume to the Spectator. On the 18th of June 1714, the first number (N. 556) appeared. This last volume of the Spectator contains the finest essays, both serious and playful, so that it is preferred by many to all the former volumes. The new Spectator appeared no more daily, but thrice a-week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Addison's design is still the same: he will be a friend to no interests but those of truth and virtue, nor a foe to any, but those of vice and folly (Sp. 556). But also this enterprise did not last long: on the 20th of December appeared the last number (N. 635). The reason why Addison gave up the paper, was the change that the death of Anne had produced in the public affairs of England. George I had been proclaimed her successor, and the whigs were again at the helm in the administration. Here ends the history of the moral papers.

From all his speculations Addison had excluded politics. More than once, indeed, in those days of factiousness, he may have raised jealousies and suspicions in some minds by his essays; but they were altogether groundless, and he often protests against the suspicion of having spoken with respect to any party or faction (S. 451); he declares himself against men "of such poor narrow souls that they are not capable of thinking anything but with an

eye to Whig or Tory" (S. 445). It is not his ambition "to increase the number either of Whigs or Tories, but of wise and good men" (S. 557).

Before we consider the great share that Addison had in the moral regeneration of his countrymen, it will be necessary to give a sketch of his character.

The character of Addison.

Steele once promised Congreve and the public a complete description of Addison's character. It is to be regretted that he did not keep his promise; for nobody knew Addison better than Steele, who, since his childhood, was connected with him by friendship. But in the writings of Steele there are a great many remarks on his friend, which enable us to form a pretty complete idea of Addison's character. The famous portrait of Aristaeus, which we find in *Tatler* N. 176, is designed for Addison, and the portrait drawn in N. 252 is likewise meant for him. The life of Addison by Tickell and the *Elegy* on his death, by the same author, are no less important sources from which we may derive information on the same subject. Almost all the writers of that age, moreover, make mention of Addison; and if we collect all the materials scattered about, all those particulars of his life and manners, all those slight lineaments of his character which have been preserved by Swift, Pope, Lady Montague, and others, and if we add to these the life of Addison which was written by Johnson sixty years after his death, and consult the *Addisoniana*, published in 1803 by Richard Philips, all drawn from sources of an unquestionable character, and look into the various correspondences of that age, especially in that of Addison himself, and if we search into the *Biographical Dictionaries* of the preceding century, we shall be sufficiently supplied with materials for a description of Addison's character. The *Essays* of Dr. Drake, *Miss Aikin's Memoir*, and Macaulay's masterly *Essay* on the life and writings of Addison, which was originally published in the *Edinburgh Review* July 1843, will complete our idea of the character of Addison. But the best source will always be his works. After the perusal of his writings the captivating features of his portrait will be animated, and our affection to this stainless character will change into veneration for "this kindest benefactor that society has ever had."

We have a well-executed self-portrait of Addison, that of Mr. Spectator, the silent gentleman. The taciturnity and bashfulness of Addison are sufficiently testified by contemporaries. Addison would sit for hours together in a club, smoking his pipe and saying not a word, so that Mandeville who had passed an evening in his company, compared him to a silent parson in a tie-wig, and Lord Chesterfield declared him the most timid and awkward man he ever saw. In the characteristics of the Spectator, Addison frequently hints at his natural taciturnity, his bashfulness, and timidity: he does not remember to have exchanged a word with his landlady for five years (S. 12); he causes his friend to present him as a foreigner who could not speak English, that he might not be obliged to bear a part in the discourse (S. 45) etc. etc. From his timidity he was never able to speak in parliament — he was twice elected into the House of Commons, in 1707, and 1710 —; but still more this inconvenience was felt by him during the period that he held the high office of Secretary of State. However timid and shy Addison may have been in public companies, however rigid the

silence may have been, which he preserved among strangers, no man was a more interesting companion in private. His colloquial powers are not only praised by all his friends, especially by Steele, but even Pope, his rival, says: "Addison's conversation had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man. But this was only when familiar: before strangers, or perhaps a single stranger, he preserved his dignity by a stiff silence."*)

His taciturnity, however, was less the effect of bashfulness than that of a serious humour and a contemplative character. In order to fill his mind with serious thoughts and meditations, he likes to pass a whole afternoon in the churchyard, the cloisters, or Westminster Abbey (S. 26); in order to be always mindful of death, and to consider the several various ways by which man passes from life to eternity, he will ask the bills of mortality in the coffee-houses (S. 289); so he improves himself with those objects which others consider with terror. "But though I am always serious, he says, I do not know what it is to be melancholy." His love of solitude does not always lead him into the regions of the dead, he more frequently takes the air, and enjoys the beauties of creation. The wonderful smiles of nature in spring cheer and delight him, and the seriousness of his temper is softened by the cheerfulness of his heart (S. 393). But frequently enough his love of solitude must give way to his love of sociality. He then frequents the most public places, especially the coffee-houses, and whenever he sees a cluster of people, he always mixes with them, but he never opens his lips, he is only surveying men's peculiar ways of life and manners with very diligent observation, and marking, with great acuteness, the effects of different modes of life. "Thus I live in the world rather as a Spectator of mankind, than as one of the species" (Sp. 1). In the company of his intimate friends, he was no more the silent gentleman; then displaying his great conversational talents, he carried all his friends along with him, and nowhere was a more cheerful and lively conversation heard than in the meetings of the Kit-cat club or at Button's, where the wits of that time used to assemble. All his friends vie with each other in extolling his wit and humour. "He was, Steele says, above all men in that talent, called humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever possessed."

But in spite of all these accomplishments, Addison was possessed of an excessive modesty. He often recommends this virtue to his countrymen. "Modesty, he says, sets off every great talent which a man can be possessed of. It heightens all the virtues which it accompanies; like the shades in paintings, it raises and rounds every figure, and makes the colours more beautiful, though not so glaring as they would be without it." (S. 231.) In the character of Aristaeus, which is meant for Addison, Steele says: In conversation he frequently seems to be less knowing, to be more obliging, and chooses to be on a level with others rather than oppress with the superiority of his genius" (T. 176). It is said, indeed, that he had a very high opinion of his own merit, and that he could not omit any good occasion that presented, for the gratification of his turn for humour and wit; but this is not inconsistent

*) Johnson, *Life of English Poets*. T. E. Vol. I. p. 372.

with his modesty, for his self-sufficiency in matters of wit and literary taste sprang from his jealousy of Pope, and his yielding to his favourite propensity is pardonable, for his wit was not malicious as that of the *wasp of Twickenham*, nor did he slander any one, as Swift, who did not even spare his friends.

There was no man more constant to his friendships than Addison. Constancy and faithfulness are, according to him, the principal condition of friendship, and with nobody's praise of friendship he is more pleased than with that of the Son of Sirach: "A faithful friend is a strong defence; and he that hath found such an one, hath found a treasure. Nothing doth countervail a faithful friend, and his excellency is invaluable etc." (S. 68). The friendship and affection which he felt for Steele, was too faithful and sincere, ever to be shaken or destroyed by misfortune and adversity, which rather cemented it the firmer, and displayed it more conspicuously. Tickell, who frequently contributed to the *Spectator*, and after Addison's directions, published his works, was loved by him as a son, and this friendship continued without abatement till his death. Tickell honoured the memory of his friend by an excellent Elegy. The unhappy difference between Addison and Pope cannot cast the least stain upon the reputation of Addison. Their friendship commenced in 1713, and continued for some time with reciprocal esteem and affection, but then Tickell's translation of Homer was the cause of their complete estrangement. Pope treated Addison with an unjust severity in that celebrated character of Atticus, which was afterwards inserted in his Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot (1733), and tried in vain to expose him to contempt and ridicule; for everybody knew the false and malevolent spirit of Pope, and the unquestionable honour and integrity of Addison. *)

Addison was grateful to his patrons. At the time when Lord Halifax, who had been impeached by the Commons in parliament, was obliged to remove for ever from the King's council and presence, Addison addressed an epistle to him, from Italy, a noble proof of his gratitude. **) He repeatedly inculcates on his countrymen the duty of gratitude, which is not difficult and painful like the practice of many other virtues, but accompanied with such an inward satisfaction that this duty is sufficiently rewarded by the performance. (S. 453.) —

Addison was benevolent in the highest degree. A spirit of benevolence and love to mankind distinguish all his writings. No man ever felt such a tender compassion for the frailties of mankind, no man was ever possessed of such good-nature, such charity, such humanity, as Addison. He relieved the indigent, he advised the distressed, he supported the frail, he encouraged the virtuous, he did everything for the benefit of mankind. When he heard that Milton's only daughter was living in great distress, he sent for her, made her a present of a purse of guineas, and made a collection for her amongst his particular friends. ***) His contributions to the moral papers are the best proof of his humanity, his moral purity, and his benevolence. The highest proof of virtue, Macaulay says, is to possess boundless power without abusing it. No kind of power is more formidable than the power of making men ridiculous, and that power Addison possessed in boundless measure. But no

*) Concerning this difference to see Macaulay, life and writings of Addison; and Addisoniana I, CXVII, CXXX; II, LXV, the account of Sir William Blackstone.

**) Edit. Hurd Vol. I, p. 28 sq.

***) Addisoniana I, CLVII and II, LXXVIII.

satirist ever succeeded so well in reconciling wit and benevolence! Satire which aims at particular persons, is the mark of an evil mind, and defamatory papers deserve the utmost detestation and discouragement of all who have either the love of their country, or the honour of their religion at heart. (S. 451.) "If I meet, Addison says, with anything in city, court, or country, that shocks modesty or good manners, I shall use my utmost endeavours to make an example of it. I must, however, entreat every particular person, never to think himself or any one of his friends or enemies aimed at in what is said: for I promise him, never to draw a faulty character which does not fit at least a thousand people; or to publish a single paper that is not written in the spirit of benevolence and with a love to mankind." (S. 34.) "It is not Lais or Silenus, but the harlot and the drunkard, whom I shall endeavour to expose; and shall consider the crime as it appears in a species, not as it is circumstanced in an individual." (S. 16.) Such were the moral accomplishments of Addison, without speaking of his integrity and incorruptibility, his ingenuousness, constancy to his principles, and other virtues, which are highly praised in him.

All these virtues were crowned by an unfeigned piety. Strong and steady was his devotion, free from fanaticism and superstition, the weaknesses of human reason, boundless was his confidence in God's goodness and the decrees of Providence, immutable his belief in a state of future happiness, where all barren hopes and fruitless wishes will be silent, in a day of judgement, when everything we have done will be set before us. He was no devotee with a sorrowful countenance, who banishes mirth and laughter from his presence and gives himself up a prey to grief and melancholy: the true spirit of religion cheered and composed his soul, banished all levity and dissolute mirth from his mind, but filled it with a perpetual serenity, an uninterrupted cheerfulness, and an habitual inclination to please others as well as to be pleased in itself. May every one be as well prepared for death, as Addison was; may every one's last moments be as serene as his. "See, how a Christian can die" he said to his son-in-law who had been called to his death-bed. *) —

His sense of sociality and friendship, his modesty and gratitude, his benevolence and humanity, his wit and humour, which make him never descend to personal satire, his moral purity and innocence, all these virtues, and chiefly his true devotion entitle him to the highest admiration and applause. And indeed, no man ever enjoyed such popularity and general affection. When he was elected member of parliament, Swift wrote to Mrs. Johnson: "Mr. Addison's election has passed easy and undisputed; and I believe, if he had a mind to be chosen king, he would hardly be refused." All men, even his enemies, were obliged to acknowledge his superiority, not only in genius, but also in morality, and Swift, his rival in fame, and his adversary in politics, Swift, whose malignant and slanderous disposition did not spare any one, praised his good-nature and generosity. **) — "Such men, Thackeray says,

*) Addisoniana II, CXXI.

**) Addison war allen überlieferungen nach mit einer persönlichkei ausgestattet, die selbst den neid und die parteiwut entwaffnete und der ausnahmsweise ein stetig wachsendes glück verziehen wurde; seinen charakter-eigentümlichkeiten, allen seinen lebenszwecken und zielen nach durchaus dem englisch-nationalen bewusstsein, streben und ururtheil entsprechend, gehört Addison zu den seltenen männern, über welche baldmoh stets im panegyrischen ton gesprochen wurde. (A. Stern.)

have very few equals, and they don't herd with those. They are in the world, but not of it; and our minor struggles, brawls, successes pass under them." "If Swift's life was the most wretched, Addison's life was one of the most enviable. A life prosperous and beautiful — a calm death — an immense fame and affection afterwards for his happy and spotless name." Perhaps no man ever surpassed his contemporaries so far in genius and integrity! Perhaps no man ever deserved so much to be the moralizer and reformer of his age!

What were the moral diseases of which Addison tried to cure his countrymen? and what were the virtues and duties he recommended to them? Let us begin with "the smaller vices in morality," the imperfections and frailties of mankind.

Human weaknesses and imperfections.

There would be but little progress and improvement in the world, were there not a principle of action which works equally with all men — ambition. Ambition is natural to the soul of man, and, if rightly directed, might produce very good effects. But this passion generally turns to our uneasiness and disquiet: men are so much actuated by a burning love of fame, so much devoured by a desire of distinguishing themselves that they enjoy but little happiness. Many have attained the objects of their ambition, and still their thirst after fame has not been quenched. This burning passion for admiration subjects them to dissatisfaction, and hinders them from securing their eternal happiness. The greater part of the middle-aged party march behind the standard of Ambition, but few of them enter the Temple of Honour, conducted by the hand of Virtue; most of them walk into that of Vanity; for vanity is the natural weakness of an ambitious man (T. 81. S. 73, 255, 256 & 257). — All superiority and pre-eminence that one man has over another, is founded on birth, titles, honours, riches, and the like temporal blessings, which are in so great repute among ambitious men; but how vain and empty are these, if considered in a true light! the only reasonable and genuine source of honour is virtue! (S. 219.) As ambition, if not limited by reason, turns to a man's uneasiness, so a vain and foolish hope produces sorrows and calamities in human life! Hope, if kept within due bounds, may prove a man's blessing; it may sweeten life and make our present condition more supportable, if not pleasing (S. 471); but how unreasonable and absurd the hope which is fixed on such things as lie at a great distance from us! No man should ever overlook the good things which are near him, for something that glitters in the sight at a distance, or contemn that good which is within his reach, for that which he is not capable of attaining. (S. 535.) The vanity of human wishes, which are the natural prayers of the mind, could not be better exposed by Addison than by his heathen fable. (S. 391.) How many men have been led to miseries and misfortunes by their foolish hopes! As people are too apt to rely on future prospects, many a man has become really expensive, while he was only rich in possibility. It is an Italian proverb: The Man who lives on Hope will die of Hunger, and it should, therefore, be an indispensable rule in life "to contract our desires to our present condition." (S. 191.) Content may best prevent us from contracting vain and foolish hopes, and when misfortunes come to afflict us, let us arm ourselves with patience; but, unfortunately, content and patience are seldom to be found among men. Fancy always

increases our own hardships and lessens those of other men; and yet "the misfortunes we lie under, are more easy to us, than those of any other person would be, in case we should change conditions with him." "All the evils which befall us are in some measure suited and proportioned to our strength." Man, therefore, should never repine at his own misfortunes or envy the happiness of another, since it is impossible for any man to form a right judgement of his neighbour's sufferings. (S. 558 & 559.) Besides, what we regard as calamities will often prove blessings, and what we regard as fortune and prosperity will often be nothing but vanity. From the Vision of the Weight of Wisdom and Riches (S. 463) we draw this lesson, not to value things for their appearances, but to regulate our desires and hopes according to their real and intrinsic value. As men are but too apt to judge of a thing by the mere appearance, they are possessed of many prejudices. How often we form the character or fortune of a person we do not know from the features and lineaments of his face, how often we conceive hatred against a person of worth, or fancy a man to be proud and ill-natured, whom we cannot esteem too much, when we are acquainted with his real character! It is an irreparable injustice to be prejudiced by the looks and features of those whom we do not know! (S. 86.) A good-natured man will not only not despise or hate others whom he does not know at all, but he will not even be too severe upon the real faults of those he does know. Every one has his flaws and weaknesses, the most shining characters often have the greatest blemishes. Is it not a most absurd thing to pass over all the valuable parts of a man, and to observe his imperfections and infirmities more than his virtues? A fault-finding spirit, however, does not spring so much from severity of manners as from a talent of turning men into ridicule, or from a slanderous disposition. Exposing to laughter those a man converses with, is the qualification of little, ungenerous tempers (S. 249), but to be fond of scandalous whispers, and to be addicted to detraction and defamation, is the qualification of mean characters. Every body instead of finding faults in others, should endeavour to arrive at a true and impartial knowledge of himself! Self-deceit is so common, that there are few men who do not often impose on themselves: hypocrisy makes them believe they are more virtuous than they really are. Addison, therefore, proposes some rules for the discovery of those vices that lurk in the secret corners of the soul. (S. 399.) Though a wise man will always suspect those actions to which he is directed by something besides reason, we often find men governing themselves in company purposely contrary to the principles of reason and virtue. A false and vicious modesty engages these men to do things which are wrong or indiscreet. It is a most ridiculous disposition in human nature, that men should not be ashamed of speaking or acting in an irrational or dissolute manner, but that they should be ashamed to do anything that is of a contrary nature. (S. 458.) False modesty induces men to inconsistency with themselves and to mutability of temper. These are the greatest weaknesses of human nature, and nothing that is not a real crime makes a man appear so contemptible and little in the eyes of the world as inconstancy, especially when it regards religion or party. (S. 162.)

So we see Addison point out the several imperfections and weaknesses of mankind, in order to lead them to virtue and happiness. A virtuous mind is always serene, and Providence enables it to bear up cheerfully against the evils and misfortunes which are common to human nature; for God did not design, this world should be filled with murmurs and

repinings, but formed the mind of man after such a manner as to make it capable of conceiving delight from his existence and the works of nature. Nevertheless there are many men whose hearts are involved in gloom and melancholy. How many men raise affliction to themselves out of everything, so that their enjoyment of life is always disturbed by imaginary calamities and fantastical afflictions. (T. 146.) "Melancholy is a kind of demon that haunts our island." Every one ought to consider the world in its most agreeable lights and fence against the temper of his climate or constitution (S. 387). Truly, nowhere the number of melancholics and hypochondriacs is greater than in England. "In the gloomy month of November, when the people of England hang and drown themselves," thus a French novelist enters on his story. As cheerfulness of mind is in a great measure the effect of a well tempered constitution, a man cannot be at too much pains to cultivate and preserve it; but many men, and especially such as apply themselves to the study of physic, are full of groundless fears, melancholy apprehensions, and imaginary distempers, and these imaginary sick persons will ruin their constitutions by physic and throw themselves into the arms of death by endeavouring to escape it. "This method is below the practice of a reasonable creature." (S. 25.) Mankind may be divided into the merry and the serious. The serious temper has a natural tendency to melancholy, the merry temper to a fantastic levity. Were a man's temper at his own disposal, he would not choose to be of either; for the most perfect character is that which is formed out of both. "Human nature is not so miserable as that we should be always melancholy; nor so happy as that we should be always merry." (S. 598.) A character, formed out of a mixture of the serious and the merry temper, will also have the capacity for business, which is not to be found either in the melancholy or in the light-hearted man. Sloth and idleness are common faults in humanity. Though we are grieved at the shortness of life, we often act, as if there would be no end of it. There are old and young loungers enough who will idle away their time, like that fellow, who was brought before the Court of Judicature by his relations who desired leave to bury him (T. 110). No one ought to think himself exempt from labour and industry, for there are means enough by which we may well deserve of our country and recommend ourselves to our posterity (S. 503). The mere practice of the social virtues may give more employment to a man than the most active station of life. "To advise the ignorant, relieve the needy, comfort the afflicted, are duties that fall in our way almost every day in our lives." (S. 93.) It is but to be regretted that many industrious men spend their time on useless things; the projectors, for instance, bestow plenty of time and pains on vain schemes. Addison only wishes to throw ridicule on these schemers by publishing the letter of a man pleading for the installation of a Comptroller general of the London Cries (S. 251), or the letter of another who wishes the institution of an Office for the Regulations of Signs (S. 28), or the letter of Messrs. Wiston and Ditton, who pretend to have discovered how to find the longitude (G. 107) etc. Every man shall work in his own sphere, where he may prove beneficial to others, and abstain from all projects that by no means conduce to the welfare of society. Many men, who avoid dealing in anything that is beyond their sphere, run into an opposite fault. They are so wholly taken up with their profession and particular way of life, that they do not know how to think out of them. Such pedants are to be found in all classes of society: there is the military pedant who talks

of camps and battles, of storms and sieges from one end of the year to the other; there is the state pedant who is "wrapt up in news and lost in politics;" there are as many other pedants as there are ranks and professions (S. 105). For the most part pedants are of a singular behaviour; this singularity, however, is the necessary consequence of their narrowness of spirit and views. But a singularity of behaviour is also to be found in other men, laudable indeed, when in contradiction to a multitude, it adheres to the dictates of conscience, morality, and honour, but vicious, when it makes men act contrary to reason, or when it puts them upon distinguishing themselves in trifles. "A man ought to sacrifice his private inclinations and opinions to the practice of the public." (S. 576.) Less shocking is singularity, when it appears in fantastical tastes. Almost every man has his hobby-horse; but it is his duty to have a care, lest his whim overrule him. There are, for instance, two fantastic inclinations, rather frequent and most ridiculous, the tulipomania and the passion for collecting rarities. The former then was a distemper touching the heads of so many persons of good sense, who, instead of esteeming a flower the more for its being uncommon and hard to be met with, ought to reflect on the bounty of Providence "which has made the most pleasing and most beautiful objects the most ordinary and most common" (T. 218); the latter, likewise, is nothing but a ridiculous whim with many men, who often are so little versed in the world that they scarce know a horse from an ox, but, at the same time, spend their lives among insects, reptiles, and other trifling rarities; for many a man a collection of spiders had so great a value, that he sold his coat off his back to purchase a tarantula (T. 216). "*La curiosité n'est pas un goût pour ce qui est beau, mais pour ce qui est rare, unique, pour ce qu'on a, et ce que les autres n'ont point. Ce n'est pas un amusement, mais une passion, et souvent si violente, qu'elle ne cède à l'amour et à l'ambition, que par la petitesse de son objet.*"*) Man may also be exposed to ridicule and contempt by an excessive fondness for animals (T. 121). Still more frequently he is disfigured by bad habits. How many gentlemen would immediately be speechless, if you would take their snuffboxes from them (T. 110), others, if you would prevent them from inserting in their discourses several redundant phrases as D'ye hear me, D'ye see, That is, or And so, sir. Many men have the foolish habitual custom of swearing, a most absurd practice; but the pest of all polite conversation is that dull generation of story-tellers who take possession of the discourse which they retain as long as the company stays together (S. 371). — These are "the smaller vices in morality," which Addison looks upon as moral maladies by which society is afflicted.

Besides, he draws a great many male portraits, destined also to make his countrymen advance in moral improvement. Addison presents them to the world as a mirror, that whoever would recognise his own ugly features in them, should mend his manners, frightened at the flaws of his character. There is the "man of the town," the hard liver, the dangler, the beau, each of them represented in the whole flatness and shallowness of his character; there is the diplomatist, the statesman, well versed in the practice of political grimace, the political lion or spy, always ready to spring upon his prey; there is the litigious man who, taking the law of everybody, must sell his ground to defray the law-charges, the pretender to wit, the wiseacre

*) *Les caractères de la Bruyère.* Chap. XIII.

and "the immethodical disputant," the admiration of all those who have less sense than himself, and the contempt of all those who have more; there is the hypocrite and the devotee, the libertine and the atheist; there is the newsmonger, the mysterious person, the whisperer etc. etc.; all of them painted in true and lively colours. How many a man might recognise his own features in these portraits, and perplexed at the ugliness of his character, struggle against his faults and bad habits, and really improve in morality; how many a man, admonished by these papers and filled with aversion to the several blemishes of humanity, might be prevented from falling into some fault or other.

The weaknesses and blemishes above mentioned will be found at all times; but there are a great many human follies and deficiencies which are dependent on time and fashion. To cure society of these diseases, to remove and to extirpate them for ever, is the chief object of a reformer of manners.

Fashionable follies in behaviour and conversation.

Behaviour and good breeding are affected by time, and what at one time is considered a proof of good manners, may be looked upon at another time as quite uncomely, blunt, and clownish. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century, the rules of good breeding were so various, so full of compliments and vanity, conversation was so surfeited with expressions of kindness and respect, that every man had to take great care "not to polish himself out of his veracity, nor to refine himself to the prejudice of virtue." (S. 557.) But when Addison wrote his compositions to the Spectator, a change took place in behaviour and conversation. The multiplied forms of social intercourse had grown so troublesome that the world, who found too great a constraint in them, threw most of them aside. "An unconstrained carriage, and a certain openness of behaviour are the height of good breeding. The fashionable world is grown free and easy; our manners sit more loose upon us: nothing is so modish as an agreeable negligence. In a word, good breeding shows itself most, where to an ordinary eye it appears the least." (S. 119.) Addison much regrets that the forms of good breeding and behaviour have thus fallen from one extreme into another. Formerly it was characteristic of a well-bred man to express everything "that had the most remote appearance of being obscene in modest terms and distant phrases;" conversation, indeed, became most stiff, formal, and precise; but now well-bred gentlemen and particularly those who have been polished in France, "make use of the most coarse, uncivilized words in our language, and utter themselves often in such a manner as a clown would blush to hear." (S. 119.) — No less blameable is the predilection for French phrases. By the war of succession so many foreign words were introduced into the English language, that old men were quite unable to read a newspaper of that time. Addison thought it a duty of every one to prohibit any French phrase from becoming current, if the English phrase were altogether as valuable. This bad habit of introducing foreign words into the language especially prevailed among the young gentlemen in the army, whose letters often were quite unintelligible to their fathers, unless they wrote for money (G. 165). Another fashionable folly of the fine gentlemen of those days is the extravagance in story-telling. Many men overleap the line of probability and endeavour only

to make their hearers stare. Addison recommends two ways to correct such a practice: to be silent or "to overshoot such talkers in their own bow." (S. 538.) There is a third sort
3) of men, empty, conceited fellows, who repeat as sayings of their own or some of their particular friends jests which were made before they were born. Besides these men who are possessed of the desire to pass for facetious, there are ostentatious men, "who will rather relate a
4) blunder or an absurdity they have committed, than be debarred from talking of their own dear persons." (S. 562.) All these follies, so troublesome in conversation, spring from vanity and egotism. — ~~Vanity~~ is the main fault in all young gentlemen; it sits uppermost in all their discourses and behaviour, and those of noble birth are most possessed of it. All their bad habits, the consequences of egotism and selfsufficiency, are still aggravated by pride of nobility. Addison attributes due honour to birth and parentage. "I think a man of merit, who is derived from an illustrious line, is very justly to be regarded more than a man of equal merit who has no claim to hereditary honours" — but he does not believe nobility entitled to such extravagant pretensions as they really make; for, after all, true nobility consists in virtue, not in birth. (G. 137.) Sense of honour should be strong in every one, and if a man can be excited to everything that is great and virtuous by the actions of his ancestors, a regard to his posterity should have the same effect on generous minds. "A noble soul would rather die, than commit an action that should make his children blush, when he is in his grave, and be looked upon as a reproach to those who shall live a hundred years after him." (G. 138.) In proportion as the forms of behaviour became coarse and rude, the notions of honour, indeed, became more and more refined; but there is a great difference between true honour and false honour, and, unfortunately, it was this false *point d'honneur*, cherished by the vain and lively people of France, that was eagerly embraced by the gentlemen of that age. Addison, therefore, most earnestly warns his countrymen of this phantom of honour which is contrary both to the laws of God and of their country. As true honour produces the same effects as religion, false honour rises against conscience and duty. Is it not more honourable to forgive an injury than to revenge it? to guard our reputation by our virtue than by our courage? (G. 161.) "When honour is a support to virtuous principles, and runs parallel with the laws of God and our country, it cannot be too much cherished and encouraged; but when the dictates of honour are contrary to those of religion and equity, they are the greatest depravations of human nature, by giving wrong ambitions and false ideas of what is good and laudable." (S. 99.) This too delicate sense of honour is also made by him a subject of mockery. A court of honour is erected for all such as have suffered injuries and affronts that are not to be redressed by the common laws, whether they be short bows, cold salutations, supercilious looks, unreturned smiles etc. (T. 250). Among other plaintiffs Colonel Touchy appears before the court, pretending to have been cudgelled by another gentleman, who, having espied a feather upon the shoulder of the said colonel, struck it off gently with the end of his walking-stick. (T. 265.) The only means to restore the injured honour was the duel; for the pique of honour made the greatest trifles affronts that nothing but blood could expiate. Addison declaimed with great warmth against this fashionable way of satisfaction (G. 161), and as he, the moralizer of his age, had many enemies who might challenge him for the disturbance he often gave them by his satire, he proclaimed, in order to give up the

duel to scorn and contempt, that he practised fencing every morning in his room. "I therefore warn all young hot fellows, not to look hereafter more terrible than their neighbours; for if they stare at me with their hats cocked higher than other people, I won't bear it. Nay, I give warning to all people in general to look kindly at me; for I'll bear no frowns, even from ladies; and if any woman pretends to look scornfully at me, I shall demand satisfaction of the next of kin of the masculine gender." (T. 93.) How many men, faint-hearted by nature, but wishing to be believed brave, enter the lists in an ill concealed agony of fear; how many men make themselves strong by the thought of a breast-plate or two quires of paper, and would run off very quickly if they were compelled to button up their bosoms. (T. 265.) But it is a necessary condition of a true-born gentleman to have fought a duel, and his character would be imperfect but for this false notion of honour.

Another grace of a fine gentleman's character was gallantry, and it was as essential to his breeding and to his place in society to excel in matters of love as to speak French. — The high degree of moral depravation which distinguished the reign of Charles II, had given way to a better state of morals, but there were young gentlemen enough who considered it their very calling to seduce women. Many a young fellow, who was scarce of age, could lay his claim, as Addison says, to the *jus trium liberorum*, and Addison himself had heard a rake, who was not quite twenty-five, declare himself the father of a seventh son. With indefatigable diligence these fellows apply themselves to their business, and Addison does not know, what to admire more, their invention or their industry and vigilance. (S. 203.) Adulterers in the first ages of the church were excommunicated for ever; at present they rise to honours and titles. "These deflowerers of innocence bring sorrow, confusion, and infamy into a family, wound the heart of a tender parent, and stain the life of a poor deluded young woman with a dishonour that can never be wiped off." However dead they may be to all sentiments of virtue and honour, should they not be restrained by compassion and humanity? Addison earnestly exhorts these profligates to take care at least of those unfortunate creatures whom they have brought into the world, and give them such an education as may render them more virtuous than their parents. "This is the best atonement they can make for their crimes, and, indeed, the only method that is left them to repair their past miscarriages." (S. 203.) All vices in which men are apt to glory, are almost incurable; drunkenness is of this number as well as adultery. The character of a drunkard is the most despicable in the eyes of all reasonable persons, and "a drunken man is a greater monster than any that is to be found among all the creatures which God has made." To check this evil which had so generally spread in all classes of society, and especially in the fashionable world, Addison shows the fatal effects this vice has on the minds, the bodies, and the fortunes of the persons who are devoted to it. (S. 569.) — Addison himself was not averse to wine; he would sit for hours together, often far into the night, at a tavern, where he often drank too much.*) Joseph was of a cold nature, Thackeray says, and needed perhaps the fire of wine to warm his blood. As for the rest he was free of the frailties of his age, and "if he had not that little

*) Johnson T. E. p. 373.

weakness for wine — why, we could scarcely have found a fault with him, and could not have liked him as we do.”*)

Such were the manners of the town. Let us now cast a glance upon those of the country. — While the young coxcombs of the town emancipated themselves from the constraining formalities in behaviour and conversation, and thought a certain negligence most fashionable, in the country the manners of the last age still prevailed. “A polite country squire shall make you as many bows in half an hour, as would serve a courtier for a week. There is infinitely more to do about place and precedence in a meeting of justices’ wives than in an assembly of duchesses.” (S. 119.) The visit of the squires (T. 86) gives us a good idea of country-etiquette. Though “that infamous piece of good breeding,” the libertinism and the looseness in conversation, which spreads more and more in the town, has not yet made its way into the country, still there are country-squires enough, who, disregarding good manners, cannot be a quarter of an hour in company, without having put all the ladies to the blushing by some blunt question or unlucky observation. Addison cannot forbear inculcating on such men the usefulness of politeness and complaisance, social virtues, which every body — not excepting the man of learning — ought to make himself master of. (G. 162.) Many young country-squires, averse to all books and learning, do not know any other pleasure than fox-hunting, gaming, and sitting at table: of all the topics of discourse they go upon, affairs of gallantry are most in favour. Their chaplain — the country-squire of that age thought it convenient to his dignity to keep a domestic chaplain — is looked upon as a *censor morum*, an obstacle to mirth and talk, and is expected to retire from table as soon as the dessert is served up. (G. 163.) This absurd custom of discarding the chaplain from table, at the appearance of the tarts and cheese-cakes, existed since the Restoration.**) Addison full of indignation at this indecency, does not know which to censure, the patron or the chaplain, the insolence of power or the abjectness of dependence. (T. 255.) “I have often blushed to see a gentleman whom I know to have much more wit and learning than myself, and who has been bred up with me at the university upon the same foot of a liberal education, in such an ignominious manner, and sunk beneath those of his own rank, by reason of that character which ought to bring him honour.” (ibid.) Fortunately, there were also country-squires, men of liberal sentiments and cultivated understandings, who treated their chaplains with urbanity and kindness; but these honourable men were in a small minority. Most important for the state of morals of the parish is the fair understanding between the squire and his chaplain, and their mutual concurrence in doing good; differences and contentions between them have very bad effects on the parishioners (S. 112). Addison exhibits a model of a country-squire. The character of Sir Roger de Coverley is undoubtedly the most accomplished, and in all the situations in which he at different times appears, the reader experiences the greatest interest and delight in his company. His chaplain was his friend and his adviser, and the day of his death was “the melancholiest day for the poor people that ever happened in Worcestershire.” (S. 517.)***)

*) Thackeray, T. E. p. 87.

**) Macaulay, history of England, Vol. I, p. 319, 59.

***) The character of Sir Roger was the favourite with Addison. When Steele in one of his Spectators had made the old knight pick up a loose woman in the Temple Cloisters, Addison was so heartily

The gentlemen of the town were of a great unconstrainedness and looseness in behaviour and conversation, the country gentlemen, though still retaining the formalities of the latter age, were no better and purer in morals and manners! And the time of the Hannoverian dynasty? The Correspondence of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, the Memoirs of Horace Walpole and other writings of that age sufficiently prove the rude and brutal tone of society, and the coarse and clumsy manner of conversing which were then in vogue. We should be compelled to own with regret that Addison's endeavours were of no avail at all, did we not know that it was only the high classes of society, the court at their head, which took delight in such rudeness of manners. The middle station of life was a most fertile soil for the seeds sown by Addison. By lashing those loose manners of the higher classes and giving them up to public contempt and aversion, he preserved the sound elements of the nation from being infected by the immorality which had corrupted the aristocracy and the court.

Addison, however, does not only expose the lewdness and wretchedness of the men of quality, he also paints the public life of the middle-class, their social intercourse in clubs and coffee-houses, so that his readers had the pleasure "*sich selbst und ihr ganzes bürgerliches thun und treiben im spiegel der dichtung genau so wiederzufinden, wie es in wirklichkeit war; ohne verschönerung und ohne verzerrung, mit allen menschlichen fehlern und schwächen, und doch im innersten grund durchaus wacker und tüchtig.*"*)

Public life in clubs and coffee-houses. Politics.

The English of those days, no less fond of clubs than the modern English, took all occasions and pretences, as Addison says, of forming themselves in those little nocturnal assemblies which are commonly known by the name of clubs. "When a set of men find themselves agree in any particular, though never so trivial, they establish themselves into a kind of fraternity, and meet once or twice a-week, upon the account of such a fantastic resemblance." Fantastic, indeed, was frequently the reason of association, and the Club of fat men, which looked upon a candidate as unqualified, if he could make his entrance through a door of a moderate size, or the Club of skeletons, which sprang up in opposition to that society, or the Club of the kings, which was totally composed of men who had the surname of King (S. 9), or the Club of the Georges, or the Short Club and the Tall Club (G. 108) are undoubtedly mentioned by Addison for no other purpose but to turn to ridicule this immoderate zeal for clubs. But, after all, Addison was by no means prejudiced against these assemblies. "When men are knit together by a love society, not a spirit of faction, and do not meet to censure or to annoy those that are absent, but to enjoy one another; when they are thus combined for their own improvement, or for the good of others, or at least to relax

vexed, when he read this paper, that he went to his friend and would not leave him till he had promised him, that he would meddle no more with Sir Roger's character. (Addis. I, 71.) A little before Addison laid down the Spectator, fearing that some body might catch up his pen the moment he had quitted it, he said to an intimate friend: "By heavens, I'll kill Sir Roger, that nobody else may murder him." (Addis. I, p. 70.)

*) Hettner, p. 289.

themselves from the business of the day, by an innocent and cheerful conversation; there may be something very useful in these little institutions and establishments." There were in several parts of London what they called Street Clubs, in which the chief inhabitants of the street conversed together every night, and when Addison was once inquiring after lodgings in Ormond Street, the landlord, to recommend that quarter, told him, that there was at that time a very good club in it. Addison himself was a member of several clubs. The Hum-Drum Club suited his taste for the peacable dispositions of its members, who used to sit together, smoke their pipes, and say nothing till midnight. The most important of all Clubs was the Kit-Cat Club, which took its name from one Christopher Cat, maker of mutton-pies. Addison, Steele, Pope, Kneller and other gentlemen of quality, merit and fortune, all firm friends to the Hannoverian succession, were members of this Whig-Club, which was founded in 1703. *) There were the Mum Club and the Silent Club, as great enemies to noise as the Hum-Drum Club (G. 121 and Sp. 9), the Everlasting Club that, proud of its age, "treated all other clubs with an eye of contempt" (S. 72), the Club of Duellists, "a very mischievous one," in which none could be admitted that had not killed a man, Beefsteak and October Clubs, and many other celebrated clubs "which were founded upon eating and drinking;" there was at last the Two-penny Club, erected by artisans and mechanics "for the preservation of friendship and good neighbourhood;" the laws of this club were published by Addison "as a pretty picture of low life." (S. 9.)

44+ Much more than by the clubs the social life and intercourse of that time was influenced by the coffee-houses. The fashion of the coffee-houses, introduced by a Turkey-merchant in the time of the common wealth, spread fast for the convenience of being able to pass evenings socially at a very small charge. Whoever laid down his penny at the bar (S. 403), was permitted to pass his evening there in an amicable conversation with his acquaintance. In close conference, over a pipe of tobacco, a little wax candle before them, they laid their heads together till midnight, and when a stranger came to light his pipe at the same candle; he was invited to sit down, for "lighting a man's pipe at the same candle, is looked upon, among brother smokers, as an overture to conversation and friendship," and when his pipe was out, his neighbour generously offered him the use of his box. (S. 568.) Every coffee-house had some particular orator belonging to it, "the mouth of the street, where he lived," who was listened to by the crowd with admiration. As men of every rank and profession daily went to the coffee-houses, the character of them was quite different. There was St. James's coffee-house, where fops congregated, their heads and shoulders covered with black or waxen wigs, where tobacco in any other form than that of richly scented snuff was held in abomination; **) Will's coffee-house was the rendez-vous of all authors and men of literary taste, where the revelations of John Dryden were once attentively listened to; the Grecian was the meeting-place of the men of science; at Giles's the French gentlemen congregated, at the coffee-houses near the Temple pert Templars were engaged in smart disputes; there were Puritan coffee-houses where no oaths were heard, Jew coffee-houses, Popish coffee-houses etc. etc. When the false news of the king of France's death arrived in England, Addison made a progress through the

*) Kneller drew the portraits of the members, and all portraits of the same dimensions and forms were afterwards called kit-cat pictures.

**) Mac., History of England, T. E. Vol. I, p. 362.

several coffee-houses to hear the different opinions upon so great an event: at St. James's, at Will's, at Giles's, as the coffee-houses near the Temple etc., everywhere the news made quite a different impression, and was discussed in quite a different sense, according to the character of the coffee-houses. In the advertisement of the *Tatler* is said: "All accounts of gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment shall be under the article of White's Chocolate-house; poetry, under that of Will's coffee-house; learning, under the title of Graecian; foreign and domestic news you will have from St. James's coffee-house; and what else I shall on any other subject offer, shall be dated from my own apartment." (T. 2.) We are told that Addison liked to go and sit in the smoking-room at the Grecian or the Devil; but most frequently he was to be found at Button's where the wits of that time would assemble. *) "The coffee-house was the Londoner's home, and those who wished to find a gentleman, commonly asked, not whether he lived in Fleet Street or Chancery Lane, but whether he frequented the Grecian or the Rainbow." **) The coffee-houses were in a certain manner the organs through which the public opinion of London vented itself; for politics were the very element of the English and the chief matter of conversation in the coffee-houses. Everywhere political discourses, pert reasonings, and smart disputes were to be heard, and in those days, when the waves of political life ran so high, an abominable vice, party-rage, was born. Whig or Tory! every one must embrace the opinions of either party; there was no neutrality. Party-spirit raged in such a degree, that Addison felt several times compelled to point to the fatal consequences of party-spirit, which fills a nation "with spleen and rancour," and extinguishes all the seeds of goodnature, compassion, and humanity. "We should, he says, no longer regard our fellow-subjects as Whigs and Tories, but should make the man of merit our friend, and the villain our enemy." (S. 125.) Still more this evil raged in the country, where party humour was so narrow, that, as Addison tells us, upon the bowling green at a small market-town, every body refused to take up a stranger of genteel behaviour, only because he had given a disagreeable vote in a former parliament. "Such a spirit of dissension, Addison very properly observes, destroys virtue and common sense, and renders us in a manner barbarians towards one another; it perpetuates our animosities, widens our breaches, and transmits our present passions and prejudices to our posterity." (S. 126.) There was another vice in close connexion with this party-spirit, the detestable practice of party-lying, which was so predominant among the English of that age, that a man was thought of no principles who did not propagate a certain system of lies. "The coffee-houses are supported by them, Addison says, the press is choked with them, eminent authors live upon them; our bottle-conversation is so infected with them, that a party-lie is grown as fashionable an entertainment as a lively catch or a merry story: the truth of it is, half the great talkers in the nation would be struck dumb, were this fountain of discourse dried up." Addison examines into the reasons why even men of honour do not hesitate to render themselves guilty of a party-lie, and discovers, at the same time, the insufficiency of these reasons to justify "so criminal a practice." (S. 507.) This

*) Button, formerly a servant in the Countess of Warwick's family, kept this coffee-house, under the patronage of Addison, on the south-side of Russel Street, about two doors from Covent Garden. (Johnson.)

**) Mac., Hist. of Engl. Vol. I, p. 362.

evil had so far spread among the English, that Jonathan Swift too, in his *Art of Political Lying*, attacked it with the weapons of his satire.

Materials for the discussing of politics were afforded by the newspapers, which, indeed, did not resemble those of our days in quantity of matter: the *London Gazette*, once published by Steele, was the official paper of the government; the *Postman*, the *English Post*, the *Daily Courant*, the *Evening Post*, and other newspapers of that time had already exceeded the size of a single small leaf, which newspapers had at the time of Charles II; for all of them were filled with numerous advertisements, partly polemical, partly destined to inform the world where they might be furnished with almost everything that is necessary for life (T. 224); nay, writing skilful advertisements and finding out a proper method to catch the reader's eye, were already looked upon as a great art (*ibid.*). The war of succession had raised and inflamed the general curiosity, which, if rightly directed, might be of good use; but frequently it degenerated into a thirst for news, so that many a citizen could not leave the coffee-house with peace of mind, before he had given all newspapers a reading. (S. 452.) Many men only take delight in what is new, let the matter be what it will. Addison's project of publishing a daily paper to satisfy the curiosity of those men, had no other purpose but to disgrace newsmongers. (S. 452.) Another sort of men, the would-be-politicians are not treated with more indulgence. How many such odd fellows might there be found in London as those four politicians, who every day, about dinner-time, sit together on a bench in a sunny place to talk of politics, or as their acquaintance, the upholsterer, the ideal of a state-tinker. (T. 155). Addison looked with anger and contempt upon "these volunteers in politics, that undergo all the pain, watchfulness and disquiet of a first minister, without turning it to the advantage either of themselves or their country" (T. 160), and wrote several papers for the particular benefit "of those worthy citizens who live more in a coffee-house than in their shops, and whose thoughts are so taken up with the affairs of the allies, that they forget their customers." — The species of state-tinkers has not yet expired, and the *politischen kannegiesser* are spread all over the Continent; but most men, having a touch in their brain, owing to the reading of newspapers, are still to be found in the empire of Her British Majesty; newspapers are as pernicious "to weak heads in England as books of chivalry to Spain." (T. 178.) We shall now have perceived the influence which the coffee-house had on the public opinion, and shall not think it improperly called by Macaulay a most important political institution.

We stated above that Addison, in his contributions to the moral papers, carefully avoided politics. Mr. Spectator says: "I never espoused any part with violence, and am resolved to observe an exact neutrality between the Whigs and Tories." Yet, without publishing political treatises, Addison never denied his Whiggism, and he often promoted the interests of his party in the most efficacious manner. We doubt if any of the numberless pamphlets and lampoons against the pretender James III ever produced such effects as his celebrated Bank-allegory (S. 3). But, in general, Addison kept back his Whig principles in his papers; he only wished that all political parties might subordinate their own interests to the honour and liberty of England. To fortify the patriotism and national pride of his countrymen, to prevent them from blind admiration and imitation of the French, and to cure them of the ill effects of factiousness and party-rage, these were the great ends of his generous efforts.

So Addison incessantly took pains to point out the weaknesses of his contemporaries. But he did not only attack the general blemishes of his age, the different professions too with their peculiar faults were lashed by him, and of all the classes of society none was more exposed to his satire than the learned world.

The learned world.

It has always been the endeavour of Addison to separate true merit from the pretence to it, and to make a strong difference between real accomplishments and charlatanery. As common people are not able to distinguish between the merits and the pretensions of the learned world, they will often be deceived, but for the advice and admonition of well-meaning persons. The useful science of physic is looked upon as most apt to conceal deceit: quacks and charlatans fill the country, and by many imaginary perfections and unaccountable artifices they insnare the minds of the vulgar and gain crowds of admirers. As physicians know, how necessary it is for them to lay claim to a supernumerary accomplishment, quite foreign to their profession, in order to insinuate themselves by it into the good graces of the public, they generally deal in poetry or astrology, while apothecaries endeavour to recommend themselves by oratory. Addison, among other instances of charlatanery, relates that, when England was shaken with an earthquake, a mountebank sold pills as an antidote to an earthquake. So far the impudence of those fellows is permitted to pass, unless reasonable persons enlighten their countrymen, and disgrace such imposture publicly. (T. 240.)

As charlatanery is a stain upon physicians, so partiality upon lawyers. There is no virtue so truly great and godlike as justice, and such as have the public administration in their hands, act like the representatives of God "in recompensing the virtuous and punishing the offender." Justice discards friendship, kindred, and party. "When a nation once loses its regard to justice, when they do not look upon it as something venerable, holy, and inviolable, when a judge is capable of being influenced by anything but law; we may venture to pronounce that such a nation is hastening to its ruin." (G. 99.) It is not improbable that, at that age, when party-rage so much prevailed, the judicature of the nation was not thoroughly exempt from certain partialities, and that Addison, for this reason, was induced to recommend the duties of justice and impartiality to all the tribunals of his country.

Men entrust their health to the physician, the safety of their lives and fortunes to the lawyer; the care of their souls is committed to the clergyman, and great pretensions, therefore, are to be made to the moral qualification of a man who, in all his doings, ought to be a model of virtue. There are clergymen who by a natural uncheerfulness of heart or mistaken notions of piety, give themselves up a prey to grief and melancholy; they are enemies to all the pleasures of conversation and all those innocent social entertainments; they ask every one, how he abounds in grace, and whether he is prepared for death? Addison much pities this sort of men who, by such a behaviour, deter men from a religious life, by representing it as an "unsocial state, that extinguishes all joy and gladness, darkens the face of nature, and destroys the relish of being itself." People will but too frequently accuse these men of hypocrisy; but though hypocrisy is the vice of a great many clergymen, Addison wishes people

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not to form so severe a judgement, if "the proofs do not amount to a demonstration." (S. 494.) Every clergyman should take an example from that honourable man who was among the companions of the Spectator. He was a man "of general learning, great sanctity of life, and the most exact breeding," a man who gained followers by the probity of his mind and the integrity of his life. A model of a country clergyman is the chaplain of Sir Roger de Coverley. He is a man rather of plain sense than much learning, of good aspect, a clear voice, and a sociable temper (S. 106); he is an enemy to superstition (S. 117), and always lives in a fair understanding with the squire, whom he only rivals in doing good. "There has not been a law-suit in the parish, since he has lived among them: if any dispute arises, they apply to him for the decision." The old knight had made him a present of several celebrated authors who have published discourses of practical divinity, and every Sunday he delivered one of them, and the good effects of these sermons were still heightened by the gracefulness of his figure and delivery. Addison heartily wishes "that more of the country clergy would follow this example, and instead of wasting their spirits in laborious compositions of their own, would endeavour after a handsome elocution and all those other talents that are proper to enforce what has been penned by greater masters. This would not only be more easy to themselves, but more edifying to the people." (S. 106.)

What hypocrisy is in religion is pedantry in learning, "a form of knowledge without the power of it." Pedantry is a common fault in the learned world. Who does not know the law pedant "that is perpetually putting cases, repeating the transactions of Westminster Hall, wrangling with you upon the most different circumstances of life?" (S. 105.) But in no profession is there more pedantry than in that of philology. Tom Folio is a learned idiot, full of the figure which he makes in the republic of letters, and wonderfully satisfied with his great stock of knowledge: he is indeed a prodigy of learning, for he knows the title-pages of all authors, the manuscripts in which they were discovered, the editions through which they have passed, he knows everything, except the meaning and contents of the books. Still more insupportable than these bibliomaniacs are certain editors, commentators, interpreters, and scholiasts, "all men of deep learning, without common sense." "These persons set a greater value on themselves for having found out the meaning of a passage in Greek, than upon the author for having written it." "They will look with contempt upon the most beautiful poems that have been composed by any of their contemporaries, but will lock themselves up in their studies for a twelvemonth together, to correct, publish, and expound such trifles of antiquity as a modern author would be contemned for." (T. 158.) When we examine a new edition of a classic author, we shall find that above half the volume is taken up with various readings, and what important discoveries! — the one manuscript writes *et*, the other *ac*, a third even &. (S. 470.) Another kind of pedants are the critics, "importunate, empty, and conceited animals," who, without entering into the sense and soul of an author, have a few general rules, which they apply to the works of every writer, and as they correspond with them, pronounce them perfect or defective. Sir Timothy Tittle enters the room of a friend of Addison's, to the eldest daughter of whom he makes love; he is beside himself: the author of a comedy has led him into the park, into a lady's bed-chamber, into a dining-room; the wicked rogue has violated the law of the three unities! — oh dear! the young lady is not of the same opinion: Timothy

Titlle, angry at so bad a taste, takes his leave for ever, and the young lady — has got rid of a very impertinent fop. (T. 165.) Addison himself had many critics and enviers, whom he compared to ivy about an oak, which adorns the tree at the same time that it eats into it. (T. 329.) A true critic, according to Addison, must be well versed in the Greek and Latin poets, possessed of a clear and logical head, and capable of writing his own language with elegance and delicacy. (S. 291.) A true critic ought to dwell rather upon the excellencies of the author he criticises, than upon his imperfections. But there are many men who do not know, how to do anything else but to blame; even the greatest authors are not spared by them. As there can be no more a perfect work in the world than a perfect man, to say of a celebrated piece, there are faults in it, is in effect to say no more than that the author of it was a man. (G. 110.) To be sure, the passion for finding faults in an author, very common in our days, merits to be severely censured, but is it not the duty of a true critic to point out the imperfections of a work? Addison himself in his criticism on *Paradise Lost* (Sp. 303 etc.) shows the defects of Milton.

The shallow wits, the beaux-esprits, "these admirers of easy lines," are to be reckoned among the pedants. Ned Softly is such an idiot to whom correctness of expression, witty turns, and epigrammatical conceits are a measure for the value of a poem. He is incapable of relishing "the great and masterly strokes" of poetry, but wonderfully pleased with all those little ornaments, points, and quibbles, so frequent in the poets of that time, and practised by those who want genius and strength "to represent simplicity in its natural beauty and perfection." What a fine specimen of the shallow rhyming of those days is the poem "To Mira"! how excellent the explanation of the "incomparable beauties of that poem"! *) (T. 163.)

The most dangerous sort of pedants are those philosophers, whose business it is to depreciate human nature, to give mean interpretations, and base motives to the worthiest actions, to resolve virtue and vice into constitution, and to remove all difference between man and man, or between the species of men and that of brutes. Men cannot be warned enough against "such shallow and despicable pretenders to knowledge, who endeavour to give man dark and uncomfortable prospects of his being, and destroy those principles which are the support, happiness, and glory of all public societies, as well as private persons."

Besides pedantry, there is another malady, with which the learned world is much afflicted, "a disease as epidemical as the small-pox" — the itch of writing. There are very few learned men who are not seized with it, some time or other, in their lives, and all remedies which have been applied to persons affected with it, have ever proved unsuccessful. (S. 582.) The reason of this malady is the vanity of the literary men. This vanity is often beyond measure, and frequently appears in their disputes concerning rank and precedence. "The author of a folio, in all companies and conversations, sets himself above the author of a quarto; the author of a quarto above the author of an octavo, and so on." "In a word,

*) I suppose that Molière has been before Addison's eyes when he wrote this paper: Mascarille (*Les Précieuses Ridicules; scène X*) interprets the beauties of his *impromptu* to Cathos and Madelon in the same manner. (*J'aimerais mieux avoir fait ce oh! oh! qu'un poème épique.* — my friend assured me, he would rather have written that *ah!* than to have been the author of the *Aeneid*.)

authors are usually ranged in company after the same manner as their works are upon a shelf." The players of both sexes, "the retainers to the learned world," are likewise ranged by laws peculiar to them: a tragedian always takes place of a comedian, and the merry drolls are always placed at the lower end of the table. (S. 529.) — Envy and detraction reign among all writers, but most among bad poets. As all that deal in poetry are most ambitious of fame, it is natural that such as have not succeeded in it, depreciate the works of such as have. (S. 253.) — Since so much is written in England, and writings are so durable, and may pass from age to age, the authors should be most careful of committing anything to print "that may corrupt posterity and poison the minds of men with vice and error." The immoral authors are to be looked upon "as the pest of society and the enemies of mankind," and are the more dangerous, the more they are possessed of wit and humour. (S. 166.) A malignant spirit — the consequence of the political agitation of that age — prevails more and more in writings, and ill-natured and immoral compositions spread themselves throughout the country. Defamatory papers and pamphlets are in vogue, and the scribblers of lampoons increase from day to day. It is a principal design of Addison to beat down this base, ungenerous spirit, which destroys the reputation of a man. It is a shame, that most dirty scribblers are countenanced by great names whose interests they propagate by such vile and infamous methods. (S. 451.) Every honest man should consider himself as in a natural state of war with the libellers and lampooners, "these sons of calumny and defamation," and annoy them wherever they fall in his way. (S. 35.) If such a vicious man has the gifts of wit and humour, he is "one of the most mischievous creatures than can enter into a civil society." "So pernicious a thing is wit, when it is not tempered with virtue and humanity." Many authors are so heedless and inconsiderate as to sacrifice the reputation of a man, without any malice, only seduced by the ambition of distinguishing themselves by wit and satire, "as if it were not infinitely more honourable to be a good-natured man than a wit." (S. 23.) There is a last sort of despicable creatures in the literary world, rogues within the law, pirates called by the authors, who print any book, poem, or sermon, as soon as it appears, in a smaller volume, and sell it at a cheaper rate. As plagiarism and counterfeiting at the time of Addison do not yet incur a lawful punishment, he tries to restrain these evils by giving them up to public contempt and disgrace. It is to be lamented "that a liberal education is the only one which a polite nation makes unprofitable. All mechanic artisans are allowed to reap the fruit of their invention and ingenuity without invasion; but he that has separated himself from the rest of mankind, and studied the wonders of the creation, the government of his passions, and the revolutions of the world, and has an ambition to communicate the effect of half his life spent in such noble inquiries, has no property in what he is willing to produce, but is exposed to robbery and want with this melancholy and just reflection, that he is the only man who is not protected by his country, at the same time that he best deserves it." (T. 101.)

So we see Addison, the intrepid champion of justice and truth, raise his voice against literary fraud and robbery, disgrace the malignant spirit of the authors giving secret stabs to a man's reputation, discover true knowledge and the vain pretence to it, expose pedantry and narrowness, and, under all circumstances, hold up the standard of justice, virtue, and humanity.

But our knowledge of the moral state of any nation, at a certain period, would be most deficient, but for a just view of the fair sex, this most important and interesting object of inquiry for every one who undertakes to write a history of civilisation.

On women.

The effect, that a reformer of manners would produce on his age, would be but little, if he should not take women under his particular care. Why? because woman-kind is the frailer part of humanity, more in want of moral improvement than the male sex? Schefer, indeed, is of the opinion that

die frau

ist wie der mann, nur stets ein wenig besser;

but Hamlet says: Frailty, thy name is woman! Should only the revenge of the oppressed male sex or the real perversity of the female sex be the reason that, at all times, woman has fallen under satire? Simonides Amorginus is the author of a satire *περὶ γυναικῶν*, which describes the sex in their several characters. The gods formed the souls of women out of ingredients which compose several kinds of animals and elements, and their good and bad dispositions depend on the principles which predominate in their constitutions. According to their composition out of the materials which compose a swine, a fox, a dog, an ass, a cat, an ape, a bee etc. or according to their formation out of earth or water, they are sluts and gluttons, notable discerning women, scolds, sluggards, such as live on hard fare and though naturally slothful, do everything by order of their husbands, women of a melancholy, unamiable nature, repugnant to the pleasure of love, ugly and ill-natured women, such as pass away their time in dressing, bathing, and perfuming, faultless and unblameable women, full of virtue and prudence, women of variable, uneven tempers etc. From the time of Simonides to that of Juvenal, and from Juvenal down to Boileau woman has often been a subject of satire. [But most of these satirists, Addison says, have endeavoured to expose the sex in general, without doing justice to the valuable part of it. "A satire should expose nothing but what is corrigible, and make a due discrimination between those who are and those who are not the proper objects of it." (S. 209.) It is, therefore, the endeavour of Addison, not to expose the female sex to ridicule, but to improve it. "I would fain contribute, he says, to make womankind, which is the most beautiful part in creation, entirely amiable and wear out all those little spots and blemishes that are apt to rise among the charms which nature has poured out upon them." (S. 57.) He has taken the ladies under his particular care, and wishes that they may excel the women of all other nations as much in virtue and good sense as they do in beauty. (S. 81 & 265.) But in order to attain his object, he is obliged to point out all those imperfections that are the blemishes of the sex, to laugh at those little vanities and follies which appear in the behaviour of many of them, and which are more proper for ridicule than a serious censure (S. 92); he does not doubt but the valuable part of the sex will pardon him, since he has nothing more at heart than the honour and improvement of the whole sex. (S. 265.)

At first he finds all employments and diversions of the fair ones contrived for them rather as they were women than as they were reasonable creatures. "The toilet is their

great scene of business, and the right adjusting of their hair the principal employment of their lives. The sorting of a suit of ribbons is reckoned a very good morning's work, and if they make an excursion to a mercer's or toy-shop, so great a fatigue makes them unfit for anything else all the day after. Their more serious occupations are sewing and embroidery, and their greatest drudgery, the preparation of jellies and sweet-meats." (S. 10.) How many ladies pass their time in trifles and vanity; Clarinda's journal gives us an idea of the daily employments of those ladies of quality, many of whom would not find a single action, in five days, that they could thoroughly approve of. (S. 323.) But there are also many women, unable to pass their time in idleness, who occupy themselves only in such matters as are not suitable to their sex. Many women, for instance, have a passion for politics and are inflamed by nothing more than party-rage; but party-rage is a male vice, and altogether repugnant to the softness and modesty of the fair sex. Women do not possess the caution and reservedness of men, and throw themselves into plenty of errors and extravagancies; their generous souls set no bounds to their love or to their hatred, and whether a Whig or a Tory, a lap-dog or a gallant, an opera or a puppet-show be the object of it, the passion, while it reigns, engrosses the whole woman. (S. 57.) But probably Addison deters women from politics by no consideration more than by this, that there is nothing so bad for the face as party-zeal, and that he never knew a party-woman that kept her beauty for a twelvemonth. We learn from Lady Mary Wortley Montague, how much party-spirit had seized the female sex in that age. The Duchess of Queensbury and other ladies obtained by force the entrance into the House of Lords, after having waited without any refreshment from nine o'clock in the morning till five o'clock in the evening, assaulting the door from time to time with beating, pushing, and knocking, and this so vehemently, that the orators in the house were scarcely to be heard. Horace Walpole makes mention of the ladies Esther Pitt, Caroline Fox, and the Duchess of Newcastle for their active intermeddling in politics, to which the latter, at least, was entitled by a stately beard. *) The ladies before mentioned, indeed, did not become noticeable before the reign of the Hannoverian dynasty, yet Queen Anne's time was not free from such extravagancies. Addison observed in the theatre several ladies patched on the right side of the forehead, others on the left; several ladies patched indifferently on both sides of their faces; all of them had their separate boxes. Upon inquiry he found that the ladies on the side-boxes were, on his right hand, Whigs, on his left, Tories, and those in the middle-boxes a neutral party. What a misfortune for Rosalinda, a famous Whig partisan, Addison waggishly says, to have a beautiful mole on the Tory part of her forehead; and how unhappy is Nigranilla in a pimple, which forces her against her inclinations to patch on the Whig side! (S. 81.)

Taceat mulier in ecclesia! The employments of women are of a domestic nature. The family concerns have a claim to the most part of their time. But as the spare time they have, cannot be wholly taken up by recreation and amusement, they may addict themselves to learning and reading good books. What an improvement a woman may have from such books as enlighten the understanding, rectify the passions, and divert the imagination! But

*) Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert in Walpole's briefwechsel. Herausg. von Pipitz u. Fink. p. 68.

unfortunately, most women, for want of instruction, read books, either because they have heard them praised or because they have seen the authors, and, though naturally susceptible of all good impressions, they are most oddly improved by learning. Addison describes to us a lady's library. There are all books ranged in a beautiful order, upon the shelves many counterfeit books, carved in wood, to fill up the numbers, and everywhere among them a thousand odd figures in China ware. But strange as the outside of the library is, the books themselves are still more so. There we find Sir Isaac Newton's works and the Grand Cyrus, a Prayer Book and Clelia, "which opened of itself in the place that describes two lovers in a bower," Pembroke's Arcadia and Culepepper's Midwifery, Taylor's holy Living and Dying and La Ferte's Instructions for Countrydances etc. etc. And yet, how much more valuable does this lady appear with her ill-guided love of books than those of her sex who, employing themselves in less reasonable diversions, have a predilection only for that which is showy and superficial. Addison much regrets that his country-women only consider "the drapery of the species and never cast away a thought on those ornaments of the mind, that make persons illustrious in themselves and useful to others." (S. 15.) Lace and ribbons, silver and gold galloons, with the like gewgaws, make a stronger impression on the weak minds of women than inward ornaments, and a young lady who was very warmly solicited by two lovers, preferred the one who very luckily bethought himself of "adding a super-numerary lace to his liveries." (S. 15.) "Talk of a new-married couple, and you immediately hear, whether they keep their coach and six, or eat in plate. Mention the name of an absent lady, and it is ten to one but you learn something of her gown and petticoat. A ball is a great help to discourse, and a birth-day furnishes conversation for a twelve-month after. A furbelow of precious stones, a hat buttoned with a diamond, a brocade waistcoat or petticoat are standing topics." (S. 15.) A great many fashionable extravagancies have been imported by the French. This ludicrous nation has infected all the countries of Europe, and Addison heartily wishes, that there were an act of parliament for prohibiting the importation of French fopperies. The war of succession, indeed, has a little decreased the influence of French manners, but many ladies of quality are still addicted to French fashions and follies. Addison remembers the time when some of his well-bred country-women kept their *valets de chambre* and received visits in their beds. *) He himself once paid a visit to one of these travelled ladies, who, though willing to appear undressed, had painted herself for the reception of her visitors and ruffled her night-gown with great care; but he could not forbear taking off his eye from her, when she moved in her bed, and was in the greatest confusion imaginary every time she stirred a leg or an arm. When Addison was writing his contributions to the Spectator, the lady of quality received her visitants at her toilet; there she was talking politics, with her tresses flowing about her shoulders, and examining her face in the glass. "What sprightly transitions does she make from an opera or a sermon

*) Taschereau, Vie de Molière: Une chère, une précieuse devait se mettre au lit à l'heure où sa société habituelle lui rendait visite.

Hettner p. 59: Die bibliothèque des gens de cour erwähnt in einer von Lemontey (Histoire de la Régence Th. 2. p. 319) hervorgehobenen bemerkung die schamlose gewohnheit, dass bei der toilette der dame nicht die zofe, sondern der valet de chambre das hemd reicht.

to an ivory comb or a pincushion! How have I been pleased to see her interrupted in an account of her travels by a message to her footman! and holding her tongue in the midst of a moral reflection by applying the tip of it to a patch! —" (S. 45.) Vivacity is the distinguishing character of the French women, and so the fair ones endeavour to be as fantastical or, as they are pleased to term it, as "awakened" as possible. But alas, how often this sprightliness and gaiety of temper degenerates into levity. Discretion and modesty, which in all other ages have been regarded as the greatest ornaments of the fair sex, are now considered as a sign of a narrow-minded, plain woman, who does not know how to behave in the fashionable world. Silence is more ill-bred than anything that can be spoken, and even a blush! — nothing less unfashionable than this! (ibid.)

So we see most ladies pass away their time with trifles: they dress and trim their bodies, consult their glass, receive or pay visits, talk about everything they do not understand, read an ill chosen book now and then, in short, leave undone those things which they ought to have done, and do those things which they ought not to have done. But a woman, who chiefly dedicates herself to the family affairs as her proper calling and profession, and besides this business, applies herself to the reading of useful books, to reasonable conversation, to religious meditation, in a word, a woman, who, in her pursuit of virtue and knowledge, makes herself every hour wiser and better than she was before . . . ? Addison hopes, that every one of his fair female readers will often lay her hand upon her heart and consider how she is, and how she ought to be. *)

But there are still other blemishes in the fair sex, which Addison cannot neglect mentioning. Whoever has been present at those debates, which frequently arise among "the ladies of the British fishery," will look upon eloquence as the most proper art for the female sex. All women are born rhetoricians, who exercise their art to stir up the passions, to deal in slander and invectives, or to talk whole hours together about nothing. Look into that bed-chamber; do you hear those very harsh words uttered in a smooth, uniform tone? What a volubility in reproach! Do you know the angry wife by her head-dress? and the poor man beside her, as quiet as a lamb! — he is lying under the discipline of a curtain-lecture. (T. 243.) Step into that company of ladies and listen to that censorious old maid. With what a fluency of invention, and copiousness of expression she enlarges upon every slip in the behaviour of another! Enter that dressing room and attend on that beauty, sitting at her toilet. How swift her tongue runs over all topics of conversation! Now she is prattling of an opera, now of the weather; now she is applying to you, now to her parrot; now she is sighing and now laughing, she hates and loves in the same breath, and that little instrument does not get weary of prattling and babbling. Truly,

women's tongues

Of aspen-leaves are made.

(The Wanton Wife of Bath.)

Addison who is too much charmed with the music of that little instrument, to discourage it, will but "cure it of several disagreeable notes, and in particular of those little jarrings and

*) To see The women before Rhadamanthus, a Vision. G. 158.

dissonances which arise from anger, censoriousness, gossiping, and coquetry"; he will "have it always tuned by good nature, truth, discretion, and sincerity!" (S. 247.)

A deficiency, no less considerable than the loquacity of woman, is her vanity. It is the opinion of Addison, that English women, indeed, excel those of all nations in beauty, but that there is a weakness in them, to be too much captivated with their charms, and always to reflect upon setting them in their proper light. Such as are graceful in their motions, such as have fine necks and bosoms, fine hands and arms will not fail to draw the attention of their male beholders to these charms. Has a woman a fresh and beautiful complexion, she will surely find means and ways to cause people to take notice of it, even if she should make use of so desperate a means as Lady Betty Won'dbee, who had falsely accused Ursula Goodenough before the Justice of Honour of having said, that she was painted. (T. 259.) But alas, how soon all these charms are defaced by their greatest enemy, time! and how ridiculous the endeavour of those faded belles, carefully to conceal their age, and always to appear younger than they really are. (T. 262.) The passion for praise is very vehement in the fair sex; but unfortunately, they hope for admiration from beauty or dress or fashion rather than from those ornaments, which cannot be defaced by time or sickness. (S. 73). Laughing, singing, dancing, tossing, ogling, smiling, sighing, fanning, frowning, these are the irresistible arts which women put in practice to captivate the hearts of reasonable creatures; modesty, discretion, decency, reservedness, and coyness are unfashionable, "the ingredients of narrow conversation and family behaviour." (S. 45.) Addison most earnestly advises young and beautiful women to avoid as much as possible what religion calls temptation and the world opportunities; for "how many thousands have been gradually betrayed from innocent freedoms to ruin and infamy;" and he relates to them a story, to show the danger a woman incurs by too great familiarities with a male companion. (S. 198.) — There are two extremes in women, those who are severe on the conduct of others, and those who are regardless of their own. What a great revolution would there be in the fair sex, if Addison's dream should be fulfilled: if all females addicted to censoriousness and detraction should lose the use of speech, and if all those should immediately be pregnant, who in any part of their lives had ran the hazard of it! (T. 102.)

"This, Addison says, is the state of ordinary women, though I know there are multitude of those of a more elevated life and conversation, that move in an exalted sphere of knowledge and virtue, that join all the beauties of the mind to the ornaments of dress and inspire a kind of awe and respect as well as love into their male beholders. I hope, to increase the number of these by publishing this daily paper, which I shall always endeavour to make an innocent, if not an improving entertainment, and by that means at least divert the minds of my female readers from greater trifles." (S. 10.)

But Addison is not content with pointing out those imperfections and blemishes which are peculiar to the greater part of the sex, and to recommend those virtues and embellishments which the whole sex should aspire to; he makes those perversities too an object of his satire which are to be found in single individuals in whose characters they are a principal trait. He, therefore, presents a great many portraits, all drawn from life and by no means inferior to those of La Bruyère. How accomplished is the picture of the coquette! She is wholly taken up in the adorning of her person; in every posture of her body, air of her face,

and motion of her head, you see that it is her business and employment to gain adorers. (S. 73.) She does not only give each of them encouragement, but makes every one she converses with, believe that she regards him with an eye of kindness. (S. 281.) "The coquette is smiling upon one, casting a glance upon another, beckoning to a third, and adapting her charms and graces to the several follies of those that admire her." (T. 120.) Chaucer represents a coquette sitting at a table with three of her votaries about her; she smiled upon one, drank to another, and trod upon the other's foot which was under the table. (S. 73.) The coquette sighs, when she is not sad, and laughs, when she is not merry. "She is a great mistress of that art of oratory which is called action, and indeed seems to speak for no other purpose, but as it gives her an opportunity of stirring a limb, or varying a feature, or glancing her eyes, or playing with her fan." (S. 247.) As blameable as coquetry is prudery: Lady Penelope Touchwood appears before the Justice of Honour to indict Mr. Chambrick, a linen draper, who has gone with her in a stage-coach, for having spoken obscenely with an acquaintance who travelled with them: he mentioned the word linen, made use of the term smock, talked upon wedding shifts; such discourses, too apt to sully the imagination, put the lady in such a confusion and embarrassment as she had never been before. (T. 259.) No less striking is the portrait of the gossip. Mrs. Fiddle Faddle "launches out into descriptions of christenings, runs divisions upon an head-dress, knows every dish of meat that is served up in her neighbourhood, and entertains her company a whole afternoon together with the wit of her little boy, before he is able to speak." (S. 247.) But seldom a gossip is as good-natured as this lady. "Lady Blast has such a particular malignity in her whispers that it blights like an easterly wind and withers every reputation that it breathes upon." "Her whisper can make an innocent young woman big with child, or fill an healthful young fellow with distempers that are not to be named." "She can beggar the wealthy, and degrade the noble" (S. 457). Elizabeth Makebate never fails to come to church on Sunday, but she spends her whole time, during divine service, in disparaging other people's clothes, and whispering to those who sit next her. (T. 259.) Is it possible to imagine a more accomplished blue-stocking than Jenny Bickerstaff who, instead of consulting her glass and her toilet for an hour after her private devotions, sits with her nose full of snuff, and a man's night-cap on her head, reading plays and romances? Jenny Bickerstaff, who knows nothing of the skill of dress, and is so very a wit, that she understands no ordinary thing in the world? you can often see her brother, with his spectacles on, lacing her stays. (T. 75.) Well painted is the character of the demure persons or the demurrers, as Addison calls them. These women who are not able either to close with their lovers or to dismiss them, should seriously consider, that, if the time of life is short, that of beauty is much shorter. (S. 89.) Such women as have disappointed themselves by too obstinate a cruelty towards the proper objects of love, generally grow fond of lap-dogs, parrots or other animals, a miserable amends for husband and children. (T. 121). — But we must abstain from drawing other characters, such as the Gospel-Gossip (S. 46), whose time is wholly taken up by lectures, church-meetings, and preparation sermons, and who never knows what her family has for dinner, unless the preacher is to be at it, the Amazon, who is the greatest fox-hunter in the country, talks of nothing but hounds and horses, kicks her servants out of the room and calls her tradesman a lousy cur. We must likewise

abstain from drawing the character of the Salamander, a kind of heroine in chastity, who does not care, whether the person she converses with, be in breeches or in petticoat, who is a perpetual declaimer against jealousy, an admirer of the French good-breeding, and a great stickler for freedom in conversation (S. 198), of the Celebrated Beauty, the Female Pander etc.

So Addison appears to us as a most acute observator of all the weaknesses and imperfections of the fair sex. It is, however, more the public life of women which he paints than their domestic life. "He walks about the world watching their pretty humours, fashions, follies, flirtations, rivalries, and noting them with the most charming archness."*) He sees them in the street, in the theatre, at church, in the assembly, at the toy-shop; but has he ever had an opportunity of observing them in their private life? has he ever examined the very bottom of the female heart? Did he know, above all, the loving woman, the tender wife? Thackeray doubts, whether he ever lost his night's rest or his day's tranquillity about any woman in his life. The only wife, he did know was my Lady Warwick — he didn't write about. I take it, the same author says, there would not have been much humour in that story. Addison, it is true, did not enjoy the connubial bliss, which he deserved; for no man in that age of immorality and licentiousness had more worthy notions of marriage than he. Addison knew, that marriage, founded on a moral base, was the condition of the sound and happy state of a nation, and that a reformer of manners, if he would produce a lasting effect on his age, must fix his eyes on this most important state of life whose sanctity cannot be violated by any nation with impunity.

On marriage.

The debauchery of the court of the Stuarts had spread all over the country. Family life was ruined, the sanctity of marriage violated, and adultery a prevalent custom. The king, "to whom honour and shame were scarcely more than light and darkness," had his mistresses, among whom the Duchess of Cleveland was the most dissolute: this woman, "not content with her husband and her royal keeper, lavished her fondness on a crowd of paramours of all ranks, from dukes to ropedancers." The corruption of morals which prevailed at the court, infected the aristocracy, the whole fashionable world. Nearly all men of rank then lived in two separate households, in a legitimate, one which was neglected, and in a free, illegitimate one, most properly called a keeping-part, in which they took their pleasure and delight. Even Samuel Pepys, who, in his diary, so often reproves the king's frivolity with an honest indignation, does not abstain from love-affairs. Though married, he has an illicit intercourse with one Mrs. Knipp. The jealousy of his wife, which he bitterly complains of, was near playing him a most disagreeable trick: Mrs. Pepys, convinced of the infidelity of her husband, though "he did, as he might truly, deny it, and was mightily troubled," resolved to revenge herself on him. "About one o'clock, he says, she came to my side of the bed, and drew my curtaine open, and with the tongs red hot at the ends, made as if

*) Thackeray.

she did design to pinch me with them, at which, in dismay, I rose up" etc. "Poor wretch, he exclaims, writing down this event, I cannot blame her jealousy, though it do vex me to the heart."*) This example will sufficiently prove the lax opinions which men of rank then had concerning conjugal fidelity. Unfortunately, also the lower classes of the people were infected by this immorality. — As the dramatists are the creatures of their age, the decay of marriage best appears by the dramatic works of that time. In all the productions of the comic stage, conjugal fidelity is an object of mockery and derision. The character of a seducer of married women is always represented in a favourable light. The breach of the marriage-vow is not considered a serious crime; adultery is the calling of a fine gentleman, a grace without which his character would be imperfect. All the agreeable qualities are always given to the gallant, all the contempt and aversion are the portion of the unfortunate husband.**) After the fall of the Stuarts, indeed, a remarkable change took place in the manners of the nation. The court of William and Mary gave no encouragement to immorality, especially the queen was pious and decent. Under the reign of Anne the nation made further progress in moral improvement; but still marriage was far from being looked upon as a sacrament, and adultery as a crime. Wives did not consider the family the proper province for them to shine in; nor did husbands think it the very compass, where to seek for pleasure, recreation, and comfort. In spite of the moral regeneration which the nation then began to experience, adultery was still a stain on the character of many married gentlemen. There was plenty of such as "had a little family in most of the parishes of London and Westminster." (S. 203.) Addison publishes a letter, written by a mother to a lord, the seducer of her daughter (G. 123); it is so moving, so heart-appalling that we might suppose, it had detained many a libertine from purchasing the gratification of a moment at so dear a rate. There is no doubt, but the endeavours of Addison, to revive the belief in the sanctity of marriage, had a good effect, at least on the middle-class of the nation. The high aristocracy, indeed, persisted in their lax principles. When, after the death of Queen Anne, they were not even any longer compelled to observe at least an outward decency, the former perversity of manners revived at the court of George I, who, by his criminal intercourse with the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Darlington, the climbing-pole and the elephant, as the populace called these monstrous mistresses of the king, gave his depraved nobility such a proof of his disregard of matrimony, that Lady Montague, in the latter years of the reign of Georges I, had but too much reason to bewail the decay of marriage. Marriage, she says, is now-a-days as much derided by our young girls, as it was formerly by our young gentlemen; both sexes have perceived the inconveniences of it, and the title of libertine now adorns a young woman no less than a young man of quality. In the high aristocracy, for a long time afterwards, *le mariage à la mode*, such as it is represented by Hogarth, was prevalent; but the common people had long since altered their opinion about as holy an institution as marriage is. It is the immortal merit of Addison to have contributed to the re-establishing of marriage and domestic virtue.

*) Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys. London 1858. Vol. IV, p. 79.

**) Macaulay, Essays T. E. Vol. IV, p. 148 & 150.

There is no better mark of a degenerate and vicious age, he says, than the common ridicule which is thrown on this state of life. (S. 261.) Marriage is an institution of God, a sacred obligation which every body should acquit, Hymen takes his revenge on those "who turn his mysteries into ridicule," and those who have most distinguished themselves by raillery at conjugal life, very often atone for their contempt by choosing one of the most worthless persons for a companion of life. (S. 530.) Will Honeycomb, "the libertine, the *homme de ruelle*," who had made love to every lady, famous for her riches, beauty, and birth, that appeared in town, is at length wedded to a plain country girl, who has no portion at all, but promises him a good heir of strong body and healthy constitution. A fine comfort, indeed! As there is nothing of so great importance to us, as the good qualities of the woman to whom we join ourselves for life, Addison is indefatigable in calling to his countrymen: Be careful in the choice of your companions for life; they often determine your happiness to all eternity. Do not choose your husband or wife for beauty, or money, or other superficial parts; be more attentive to the qualities of mind. (T. 216.) In the time of courtship every man should converse with his mistress in a sincere manner, and always take care of a frankness of behaviour; but unfortunately, many a lover, resigning his inclinations and understanding to the humour and opinion of the beloved woman, totally disables her to get acquainted with his character and temper. (G. 113.) On the other side, the lover cannot be too inquisitive and discerning into the faults of the person he loves. (S. 216.) Not seldom a poor maid is compelled to consummate marriage, or a happy lover denied to do so by the will of a rigorous father. Of all hardnesses of heart there is none so inexcusable as that of parents towards their children. An obstinate, inflexible temper is odious upon all occasions, here it is unnatural. (S. 181.) Read the story of Constantia and Theodosius (S. 164), and you will see, how miserable the severity of a selfish father can render a family. How many unhappy marriages might be avoided! The entrance of Hymen's temple is adorned with garlands of roses and myrtles; but there are two gates at the back of the edifice, at which the couples are let out: the one, guarded by Discretion and Complacency, for those who are happily married, the other, guarded by Levity, Contention, and Jealousy, for those who are unhappily married. (T. 120.)

What are the conditions of a happy marriage? Goodnature and evenness of temper will give you an easy companion for life, virtue and good sense an agreeable friend, love and constancy before all a good wife or husband. (S. 261.) Constancy is indispensably necessary for such as are united for life; where there is no constancy, the most inflamed passion may fall away into coldness and indifference, and the most melting tenderness degenerate into hatred and aversion. (T. 216.) Providence has made men and women counterparts to one another, and has endowed them with a different temper: the cheerfulness and good humour of the wife shall relieve the pains, concerns, and anxieties of the husband. (S. 129.) A cheerful temper, joined with innocence, will make beauty attractive, wit good-natured, it will lighten sickness, poverty, and affliction. (T. 216.) Women, adorned with these virtues, will distinguish themselves as tender mothers and faithful wives; and men of sense, possessed of such wives, will never be sorry for having married them. To both of them marriage will be a source of the purest pleasures, for a happy marriage has in it all the

pleasures of friendship, all the enjoyments of sense and reason, all the sweets of life. (S. 261.) What a delightful thought for a father to have the absolute power in his family, to be both king and priest in his patriarchal state. What a great blessing to have plenty of children whom he has to provide for, to whom he has to give a virtuous education, and who will one day accomplish all his proud hopes! (S. 500.) How happy a mother in the care of her children, to whom she gave birth, how happy in her endeavours to please the person whom she looks upon as her honour, her comfort, and her support. (S. 295.) What a charming consciousness for consorts to be happy in each other, beloved by their children, and adored by their servants. (S. 15.) — Thus Addison paints the pleasures of marriage and the true happiness which arises from the friendship and conversation of two select companions.

But is it not to be regretted that conjugal happiness is so seldom to be found? How often matrimony is without any moral foundation; for base motives reduce men and women to consummate marriage, and how can a marriage be happy, where the pleasures and inclinations of both parties are not the same! (S. 295.) A great enemy to conjugal happiness is the wife's levity and propensity to pomp and show. Levity is as pernicious to marriage as a cheerful temper and sprightliness are beneficial to it. Alas, how many a woman rejected the man of sense to associate herself with a person who resembled her in that light and volatile humour. The fatal consequences of such a union did not fail. (S. 129.) Many a wife thinks life lost in her own family, and fancies herself out of the world, when she is not in the play-house or the drawing-room; the death of a child would not be more afflicting to her than the missing of an opera. But she who loves to be always in a crowd, and to draw the eyes of the world on her, can never be truly happy. (S. 15.) How many families are ruined by the prodigality of wives. Everywhere the bad habit of pin-money prevails. Demands of pin-money are a sign of distrust and passion for profusion. Women may not object that this practice is but a necessary precautionary measure, in case their husbands should prove churls and misers; for how can a woman trust her person to one whom she cannot rely on for the common necessities of life! (S. 295.) It is no less pernicious to conjugal happiness that wives are employed on things which are not proper to the sex; for instance, on politics. Party-rage is the consequence of it, and thus many wives, who are formed to temper mankind and soothe them into tenderness and compassion, only aggravate the hatred and animosities that reign among men. (S. 81.) But the worst vice of those women of vogue and fashion is gaming. Their passions, their understandings, and imaginations suffer by this practice. All family-life is ruined. At midnight the wife returns home with joy in her face, when she has had good luck at cards; has she been a loser, she comes home out of humour and is angry with everybody. "What a race of worthies, Addison indignantly exclaims, what patriots, what heroes must we expect from mothers of this make." (G. 120.) The family is the proper province for women to shine in. Education of their children, care of their families, and love of their husbands are the great qualities and achievements of womankind. (S. 73.)

What a depth of moral depravation opens before our eyes, when we read the paper on the widows' club, whose members discuss these two points, How to treat a lover, and How to manage a husband. Each of them boasts of her arts and stratagems by which she managed

her husband, until "she sent him out of the house, with his heels foremost" (S. 561). In reading this paper we shudder at the rudeness and profligacy of these wretched women, but we have forbearance with them after perusing another paper, which is a defence of the president of the club. We learn that she was first married, at fourteen, to a husband who insulted her, then to Mr. Fribble, an old man of sixty years who was nothing to her; after his death she married John Sturdy, who neglected her, then a young officer, who ruined her by gambling; her fifth husband, a splenetic lord, tormented her, and her sixth, a niggard, would have starved her, had she not killed him by spending as much money as she could. (S. 573.) The matrimonial state was in disorder and decay, and this was the fault both of husbands and wives.

A wife often neglects the means by which she can preserve or recall the affection of her husband. Above all she ought to take care of her person and dress. A wife should always be well dressed and make her person agreeable; but unluckily, many housewives are never well dressed but when they are abroad, and think it necessary to appear more agreeable to all men living than to their husbands. A wife should not be too sparing of her blandishments, nor entertain her husband with indifference and sullen silence; she should conceal all matrimonial quarrels from the knowledge of others, in short, she should always study how to preserve the love of her husband and make herself amiable. (T. 147.) The wife should also endeavour to cultivate her mind, and she is the more obliged to do it, the less her husband has employed his time to acquire knowledge. It is, indeed, an unhappy circumstance in a family, where the wife has more knowledge than the husband, but it is better so, than that there should be no knowledge at all in the whole house; for if there is a coxcomb at the head of the family, wife and children submit their understandings to him and make daily improvement in folly and impertinence. If, therefore, it is of great concern to a family that the ruler of it be wise, it is of much greater consequence, that he be virtuous; for vice is of a more pernicious and a more contagious nature than folly. (G. 165.) — Another reason, why many marriages are not so happy as they should be, is the jealousy of the husbands. The jealous man, wishing himself a kind of deity to the person he loves, will be the only pleasure of her senses, the only employment of her thoughts. This melancholy passion alienates the affection, instead of engrossing it. To prevent jealousy, the wife must never dislike in another the frailties of her husband, she must be free and open in her conversation with him, and discover every secret, and if both these methods fail, she must show him, how much she is cast down and afflicted for the low opinion he entertains of her. (S. 171.) Many inconveniences arise from the different ranks of the consorts. How foolish is that ambitious man who aspires after marriage with a woman of high rank; proud of her noble birth, she will treat him with contempt. The fate of Sir John Anvil should deter such fools. His wife has the disposal of his fortune and the regulation of all family affairs; his children, who know the whole pedigree of their mother's family, will soon disdain their father, who is more than once entreated to converse as little as possible with them, that they may not learn any of his awkward tricks. (S. 299.) —

Addison knew very well that marriage is the foundation of social life, and that he could not better recover people out of that state of vice and folly into which they were fallen,

than by his endeavours to explain the very nature of marriage, to represent the degeneration of it in all its wickedness and depravity, and to indicate, at the same time, the remedies for improving this most important state of life.

It is to be regretted that Addison, this warm advocate of marriage, did not enjoy an untroubled connubial bliss. In 1716, after a long and arduous courtship, he married the Countess Dowager of Warwick, but it is generally believed that this union did not add to his happiness. Addison and Lady Warwick had been country neighbours: Addison had occupied a small dwelling at Chelsea, and the Countess Dowager resided at Holland House. He first became acquainted with her by being tutor to her son. "The great wit and scholar tried to allure the young Lord from the fashionable amusements of beating watchmen, breaking windows, and rolling women in hogsheads down Holborn Hill, to the study of letters and the practice of virtue. *) After his marriage with his Charlotte he fixed his abode at Holland House, but it is quaintly said, though Holland House was so large a mansion, yet it could not contain Mr. Addison, the Countess and one guest, Peace. **) A tradition has represented Addison's wife as an arrogant and imperious woman, and it is told of Addison, that he used to go to a coffee-house at Kensington to drink his solitary glass and thus endeavour to forget his domestic uneasiness. ***) Lady Montague writes to Pope: "Such a post as that (Secretary of State), and such a wife as the Countess, do not seem to be, in prudence, eligible for a man that is asthmatic, and we may see the day, when he will be heartily glad to resign them both." †) We cannot help recollecting the fate of poor John Anvil, and his ambitious love. Lady Warwick "always remembered her own rank, and thought herself entitled to treat with little ceremony the tutor of her son." ††) It is melancholy to think that the last years of Addison who had so much contributed to the improvement of conjugal life, were overclouded by domestic vexations. †††)

From the decay of marriage we learn, how much a nation is in want of a moral regeneration, how necessary it is to fill the country with a better race of men. But as it will prove impossible to remove the inveterate faults of those that are old, it is the young on whom a reformer of manners must fix his hopes. The education of youth, therefore, must be a chief object of his labours.

The education of youth.

All young men must one day consider, what course of life they will pursue, whether that of Virtue or that of Pleasure. Happy those who take an example from Hercules who

*) Macaulay, Essays T. E. Vol. V, 151.

**) Addisoniana I, p. 119.

***) Addisoniana I, p. 165.

†) Letters of Lady M—y W—y M—e: written during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Vol. IV, p. 36.

††) Johnson.

†††) Addison had a daughter by his wife, who was bred up, it seems, with little veneration for his memory; for a very respectable lady who was educated with her at the same boarding-school, has frequently declared that she was there distinguished by her marked dislike to his writings and unconquerable aversion to the perusal of them. — Addisoniana I, p. 56.

resisting the allurements of Pleasure, gave up his heart to Virtue, and became beloved by the gods, esteemed by his country, and honoured by posterity. (T. 97.) Education puts the seeds of virtue into the hearts of men, and makes them strong to resist temptation. Education, therefore, will have a great influence on the course of life a man will choose, whether he will prove useful and blissful to his brethren, or lie as a burthen or 'dead weight upon his species. Unfortunately, the education of youth is frequently neglected or misled. There are innumerable instances of elder brothers and young heirs who squander away their time in idleness and sloth. In consideration of the estates they are born to, they think all accomplishments unnecessary for them. Frequently these notions are inculcated on them by the flattery of their servants or even by those who have the care of their education. (S. 125.) Tender mothers, for the most part, are unable to educate their sons. They generally take so much care of their sons' health, that they make them good for nothing. The one is expert in every kind of sport, roves all day long about the woods, since he is able to ride on horse-back or to carry a gun upon his shoulder; the other has passed the greater part of his life in the nursery; he can make a sack-posset better than any man in England, can criticise on cambrie and muslin, and talk an hour together on a sweet-meat. (S. 57.) Both these methods of education are severely censured by Addison.

Still more mistakes are made in the education of younger brothers. How many a great family had rather see their children starve like gentlemen, than thrive in a trade or profession that is beneath their rank. At best, the boy tries a learned profession, but "finding his genius does not lie that way, his parents give him up at length to his own inventions." Will Wimble, a younger brother to a baronet, being bred to no business and born to no estate, lives with his elder brother as superintendent of his game; he furnishes the whole country with angle-rods, obliges young heirs with a net that he has woven, and presents their mothers and sisters with a pair of garters of his own knitting, and all his friends with tobacco-stoppers. (S. 108.) However unfit many a younger brother may be for studies of a higher nature, why should he not be perfectly capable for the occupations of trade and commerce? Is it not a great pity, that many busy hands are wholly employed in trifles, that many men should be so little beneficial to others? Most severely Addison lashes the pride of nobility of those men who never sully themselves with business, but choose rather to starve like men of honour than do anything beneath their quality. (T. 256.) Most important to a man and decisive of his happiness of life is the right choice of his calling. In so great an affair of life parents should always consider the genius and abilities of their children more than their own inclinations. But the misfortune is, that parents are prepossessed with a particular profession, and therefore desire their sons may be of it. Most censurable is the vanity of parents to see their sons addicted to divinity, law, or physic, though each of these three great professions is overburdened with practitioners and filled with multitudes of ingenious gentlemen that starve one another. "I very much wonder at the humour of parents who will not rather choose to place their sons in a way of life where an honest industry cannot but thrive, than in stations where the greatest probity, learning, and good sense may miscarry." "A well regulated commerce is not, like law, physic or divinity, to be overstocked with hands, but on the contrary, flourishes by multitudes, and gives employment to all its professors." (S. 21.)

Whatever may be the profession a man takes up, the pursuit of knowledge is necessary for every one. A man employing his thoughts on many subjects, or entertaining a quick and constant succession of ideas lengthens his time, while a man shortens his time by thinking on nothing but a few things. (S. 94.) "Knowledge is, indeed, that which next to virtue, truly and essentially raises one man above another." "Knowledge is the natural source of wealth and honour; long life, riches, and reputation are very often not only the rewards, but the effects of wisdom." (G. 111.) But alas, how many men are born and fade away, and leave behind them no traces of their existence, but are forgotten as though they had never been. "They are neither wanted by the poor, regretted by the rich, nor celebrated by the learned. They are neither missed in the commonwealth, nor lamented by private persons." (S. 317.)

With cultivation of the mind exercise of the body must go hand in hand. *Mens sana in corpore sano!* Labour is absolutely necessary for the right preservation of the body, and a strong, healthy body has the most salutary effects upon all the faculties of the mind. It keeps the understanding clear, and the imagination untroubled. The spleen, very frequent in men of studious and sedentary lives, is only to be ascribed to the want of bodily labour. Most conducing to health is riding, an exercise "very much recommended by Dr. Sydenham, and described at large in its mechanical effects in the *Medicina Gymnastica*." Mr. Spectator, when in town, exercises himself an hour every morning upon a dumb bell that is placed in a corner of a room and pleases him the more, because it does everything he requires of it, in the most profound silence. When he was some years younger, he employed himself in a more laborious diversion, called the *σκιομαχία* (sic!) or the fighting with a man's own shadow. It "consists in the brandishing of two short sticks grasped in each hand, and loaden with plugs of lead at either hand." "This opens the chest, exercises the limbs, and gives a man all the pleasure of boxing without the blows." (S. 115.) As nothing in nature is more inconstant than the British climate, every man should take care that his body be not too soft for his climate; in his early youth he should "harden and season himself beyond the degree of cold wherein he lives," and inure himself by custom "to bear the extremities of weather without injury." "I verily believe a cold bath would be one of the most healthful exercises in the world, were it made use of in the education of youth." (G. 102.)

Besides hardening the body by exercise and exposure, there is another great preservative of health — temperance. "If exercise throws off all superfluities, temperance prevents them." "Nature delights in the most plain and simple diet. Every animal but man keeps to one dish." (S. 195.) Addison takes even the diet of London under his inspection. He exhorts his readers to return to the food of their forefathers, to beef and mutton, to banish French cookery and French kickshaws, which excite appetite without giving strength, and heat the body without nourishing it. (T. 148.) To conclude, as man is a compound of soul and body, the education of youth is obliged to a double scheme of duties, to the cultivation of the mind and to the exercise of the body.

It is the opinion of Addison, that the education of the children of the lower classes deserves no less regard than the education of those children whose parents live in easy circumstances. The charity schools, an institution which, at that time, spread its blessings

over the whole nation, are looked upon by Addison as the glory of the age and the most proper means to recover men out of a state of degeneracy and depravation. He does not doubt, but the Queen's generosity and bounty will embrace also these little boys and girls. "A charity bestowed on the education of so many of her young subjects has more merit in it than a thousand pensions to those of a higher fortune who are in greater stations of life." He hopes that all men of wealth and quality will contribute to the maintenance and increase of these schools which seem to promise an honest and virtuous posterity. "There will be few in the next generation who will not at least be able to write and read, and have not had the early tincture of religion." Nay, Addison wishes, that care might be taken of those poor creatures too who, at best, are exposed by their mothers to misery and vice, if not killed from fear of shame or for their inability to support them. He describes to his countrymen the foundling hospitals of Paris, Madrid, and Rome, and thinks the institution of such hospitals in London a subject that deserves the most serious consideration. (G. 105.)

We now proceed to female education. During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the education of women fell to such a low ebb as it had never been at any other time since the revival of learning. "Ladies, highly born, highly bred, and naturally quick witted, were unable to write a line in their mother tongue without solecisms and faults of spelling, such as a charity girl would now be ashamed to commit."*) The culture of the female mind remained almost the same during the first ten years of the eighteenth century.**) Addison, recommending to women the pursuit of knowledge, says: "It is a pity there should be no knowledge in a family. I am concerned, when I go into a great house, where, perhaps, there is not a single person that can spell, unless it be by chance the butler or one of the footmen." He is much surprised that learning is not thought "a proper ingredient in the education of quality or fortune." He is even inclined to believe that for some reasons learning is more adapted to the female world than to the male; for, in the first place, women "have more spare time upon their hands and lead a more sedentary life;" in the second place, "women have the natural gift of speech in greater perfection," and the third reason why women of quality should apply themselves to letters, is, because their husbands are generally strangers to them.***) Addison presents several instances of females who have distinguished

*) Macaulay, History of England. Vol. I, p. 388.

**) Queen Mary, a woman of good natural abilities, who was even considered by many eminent men as a superior woman, once wrote in an English bible, which is still extant in the library at the Hague: "This book was given the King and I at our coronation. Marie R." (Mac.)

***) The reason why Addison wishes women to occupy themselves in physical science, is to be sought for in the turn and fashion of his age, which after the foundation of the Royal Society (Regalis Societas Londini pro scientia naturali promovenda, 1686), and Isaac Newton's great discoveries (1687), became still more addicted to the cultivation of natural philosophy and set aside all other sciences. Molière in his Femmes savantes (1672) satirizes the occupation of women in natural philosophy:

*Dous devriez brûler tout ce meuble inutile,
Et laisser la science aux docteurs de la ville;
M'ôter, pour faire bien, du grenier céans
Cette longue lunette à faire peur aux gens etc.*

(Acte II, sc. 7.)

themselves in learning, and have risen to honour and fortune, among them the empress Eudocia and Madame Maintenon. But women must also take care of their bodies, must exercise and harden them; for bodily labor is no less beneficial to them than to the male sex. Riding is the best exercise also for women and serves to disperse vapors to which they are often subject. (G. 155.) He says nothing about the necessity of dancing for young women, but we do not doubt but that he approved of the advice given to parents in N. 67. of the Spectator, to place their daughters for some time under the tuition of a dancing-master, that they learn so much of dancing, at least, "as belongs to the behaviour and an handsome carriage of the body."

Such were Addison's opinions on education, and there is no doubt but they have had the most salutary influence on all those who had the care of the education of youth. A human soul without education is "like marble in the quarry which shows none of its inherent beauties, till the skill of the polisher fetches out the colours, makes the surface shine, and discovers every ornamental cloud, spot, and vein that runs through the body of it. Education, after the same manner, when it works upon a noble mind, draws out to view every latent virtue and perfection, which, without such helps, are never able to make their appearance." (S. 215.) Every block of marble has in it a statue hid, which is found out by the sculptor; so every man, if guided by a suitable education, has the capacity of being a worthy and useful member of humanity. "What sculpture is to a block of marble, education is to an human soul." — The chief object of a liberal education will be to suppress superstition in the minds of the children; for how dangerous a thing superstition is, how fatal and pernicious in its effects, every body will know who studies the history of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

On superstition.

The darkest stains in the history of mankind are those innumerable crimes to which men were actuated by superstition. There is, however, no doubt, but superstition had captivated reason in England less than on the Continent. The witch-law, which had been abrogated under the reign of Edward VI, was not only renewed at the accession of Elizabeth, but new laws were added, though much less strict than those on the Continent. Still worse were the effects of superstition under the reign of James I, when Sir Thomas Browne declared, that those who denied the existence of witchcraft, were infidels and atheists. But when the Puritans got the superiority in the state, superstition assumed a gigantic form. The Restoration produced a change in this matter too. The reaction against the rude severity of Puritanism effected a sudden outbreak of ironical incredulity, and disbelief in witchcraft became a fashion. No less pernicious to superstition was the scepticism of Hobbes and the Royal Society which turned the minds towards the study of the phenomena and the discovery of the laws of nature. In 1681, Joseph Glanvil, though addicted to a strong scepticism, undertook the defence of the dying faith. His *Saddhucaeus Triumphatus* had an extraordinary effect. Eminent men, such as Baxter, Henry More, Cudworth, and others took his side. Richard Baxter declared, that the man who did not believe in witchcraft, must be a most obdurate sinner. But the endeavours of these men had no great success: the belief in

witchcraft was shaken, the genius of rationalism had already penetrated into all classes of society. In 1682, three witches were executed, and others are said to have shared the same fate in 1712.*)

But 1712 is the time, when Addison published his moral papers, and as the belief in sorcery had not yet expired, when Hutchinson wrote his *Essay on Witchcraft* (1718), it is natural, that Addison who had taken upon him to censure the faults of his age (T. 111) and to banish ignorance out of his country (S. 58), could by no means pass over in silence so mischievous a blemish of mankind as superstition. But we see, at the same time, that Addison was not altogether free from the superstitious opinions of his age. "When the arguments, he says, press equally on both sides, in matters that are indifferent to us, the safest method is to give up ourselves to neither. It is with this temper of mind that I consider the subject of witchcraft." He cannot forbear thinking that there is an intercourse and commerce with evil spirits, but when he considers that the ignorant and credulous parts of the world abound most in relations of witchcraft, and that the persons who are accused of such an infernal commerce, are people of a weak understanding and crazed imagination, and that many impostures and delusions of this nature have been detected in all ages, he endeavours to suspend his judgement, till he hears more certain accounts than those which have as yet come to his knowledge. "In short, when I consider the question, whether there are such persons in the world as those we call witches, my mind is divided between two opposite opinions, or rather (to speak my thoughts freely) I believe in general that there is, and has been, such a thing as witchcraft, but, at the same time, can give no credit to any particular instance of it." (S. 117.) This opinion of Addison, though prejudiced by the superstition of his age, was still most apt to prevent people from doing mischief. Sir Roger de Coverley, the favourite character of Addison, the representative of the enlightened country-gentlemen is a little sceptic in matters concerning witchcraft. Moll White, an old woman, living on the knight's estate, had the reputation of a witch all over the country; for her lips were always in motion; if she chanced to stumble, sticks or straws, lying in the figure of a cross before her, were always found; she often cried Amen in a wrong place at church, a certain proof that she was saying her prayers backwards; the dairy-maid exerts herself in vain to make butter, if Moll White is at the bottom of the churn; a horse sweats in the stable — Moll White has been upon his back; a broom-stick stood behind her door which had carried her hundreds of miles; a tabby cat which is reported to have spoken several times, sat in the chimney corner. Several times old Moll had been brought before Sir Roger for making children spit pins, and giving maids the night-mare, and the country people would have thrown her into a pond and tried experiments with her every day but for the knight and his chaplain. (S. 117.) When about a month after the death of Moll White the wind was so very high, that it blew down the end of one of his barns, Sir Roger, in contempt of the general belief, did not think "that the old woman had any hand in it." (S. 269.) However great the discredit then may have been, which was given to witch-stories by the enlightened classes, in the country they were generally believed. "There is scarce a village in England, Addison says, that has not a Moll White,

*) Hartpole Lecky: *History of the rise and influence of the spirit of Rationalism in Europe*. Vol. I, ch. 1.

in it," and he earnestly endeavours to deliver the country people from this injurious fancy. "When an old woman begins to dote, and grow chargeable to a parish, she is generally turned into a witch, and fills the whole country with extravagant fancies, imaginary tempers, and terrifying dreams. In the mean time the poor wretch that is the innocent occasion of so many evils, begins to be frightened at herself, and sometimes confesses secret commerces and familiarities that her imagination forms in a delirious old age. This frequently cuts off charity from the greatest objects of compassion, and inspires people with a malevolence towards those poor decrepit parts of our species, in whom nature is defaced by infirmity and dotage." (S. 117.)

With the belief in sorcery and witchcraft that in ghosts and apparitions stood in close connexion. — Weak minds fill many places, such as old ruins, vaults, church-yards, castles etc. with spectres and goblins and imagine them to be haunted. In the dark evening a faint-hearted man will take a grazing cow for a black horse without a head, and will run away when he hears a rustling among the bushes. At Sir Roger's first coming to his estate, he found that a great many rooms had the reputation of being haunted, and, on that account, locked up; he, therefore, upon the death of his mother, ordered all the apartments to be flung open and restored to their proper destination, after his chaplain had slept in every room one after another without being hurt. Addison, finding such ridiculous horrors spread throughout the country, endeavours to dissipate the groundless fear of goblins and apparitions, though he cannot give himself up to a total denial of the appearance of ghosts, testified not only by the traditions of all nations, ancient and modern, but also by the relations of particular persons, still living and most worthy of belief. (S. 110.) A sound imagination, a clear judgement, and a good conscience are the greatest enemies to the fear of spectres, and every man ought to arm himself against it by the dictates of reason and religion, and if there are really such phantoms and apparitions as many wise and good men have believed, he may trust in the omnipotence of God without the knowledge and permission of whom "it is impossible for one being to break loose upon another." For the most part, the belief in ghosts is implanted in the mind during childhood, when man is not able to judge of its absurdity, and foolish maids inculcate on the minds of children such silly notions. "Were I a father, I should take a particular care to preserve my children from these little horrors of imagination, which they are apt to contract when they are young, and are not able to shake off, when they are in years." (S. 12.)

A third kind of superstition are those foolish prognostics which subject men to imaginary afflictions and additional sorrows. Beginning a work on Thursday, spilling salt at table, laying knife and fork across one another upon the plate, the shooting of a star, a screech-owl at midnight, thirteen in company etc., "there is nothing so inconsiderable which may not appear dreadful to an imagination that is filled with omens and prognostics. A rusty nail or a crooked pin shoot up into prodigies." (S. 7.) Among all men, lovers are most addicted to superstition: many men in love grew pale and lost appetite upon the plucking of a merry-thought, while others, who were absent from their mistresses, took comfort from a crooked shilling, a crown piece cut into two equal pieces, the figure of a heart cut in stone or cast in metal etc. (S. 245.) "As it is the chief concern of wise men to retrench the evils of life by the reasonings of philosophy, it is the employment of fools to multiply them by the sentiments

of superstition." There is one way to fortify the soul against these terrors of mind, that is the belief in the protection of that Being who governs futurity. Amidst all the evils of life he should always be the comfort and support of men. (S. 7.)

The impatience of men to look into futurity and to know what accidents may happen hereafter, has given birth to divination. There are numberless arts of prediction among the vulgar: some foretell fortune from the lines of a man's hand, others from the features of his face; some from the signatures which nature has impressed on his body, others from his hand-writing or from the stars etc. Most common is the divination by dreams, and Addison, to expose the folly and superstition of those persons who believe in dreams, publishes the project of an Oneirocritic or an interpreter of dreams. (S. 505.) "It is not to be conceived, Addison says, how many wizards, gipsies, and cunning-men are dispersed through all the counties and market-towns of Great-Britain, not to mention the fortune-tellers and astrologers, who live very comfortably upon the curiosity of several well-disposed persons in the cities of London and Westminster." (S. 505.) Clarinda, the lady of fashion, writes down in her journal: "Went in our mobs to the dumb man, according to appointment." (S. 323.) This dumb man was Duncan Campbell, far renowned then for his art of divination.

Addison, the reformer of the manners of his age, though himself not free from a bias towards the general belief in wonders, by which reason then was captivated, thought it his duty to root out popular errors and to counterwork superstition and all those evils that attend the superstitious follies of mankind. — But let us turn over this dark page in the history of humanity, and proceed from the superstitious follies of that age to its amusements and diversions, from fear and affliction to mirth and laughter.

Amusements and diversions.

Among the entertainments of modern times the stage takes the first place, and it might be, indeed, a perpetual source of the most noble pleasures, were it always in accordance to the demands of morality and reason. But unfortunately, the degradation of the stage then was a fact which filled Addison with sorrow and regret. We have more than once referred to the lewdness of the comedies of that age, which, by representing vice as laudable and amiable, advanced "immorality and cuckoldom," on which most plays of that time were founded. Addison, however, hoped that, some time or other, the licentiousness of the theatre would be restrained, so that it might even contribute to the advancement of morality and to the reformation of the age. (S. 446.) Such hopes will never be fulfilled, for no play will take, as Bishop Hurd justly observes, that is not adapted to the prevailing manners. *)

The opera was no less in favour than the drama; but it too sufficiently showed the corrupt taste of the public. The Italian music had made a gradual progress upon the English stage. After Arsinoë had given the public a taste of Italian music, Italian operas were translated. The next step was the introducing of Italian actors, who sung their parts in their

*) Seventy years after Schiller tried in vain to put the stage on the same moral height, where it should give its assistance to religion and law. (*Die schaubühne als moralische anstalt betrachtet.*)

own language, while the English actors performed theirs in their native language, at last the whole opera was performed in Italian. (S. 18.) It is the merit of Signor Nicolini to have shown the English the Italian music in its perfection (S. 405). But even Signor Nicolini, though an excellent artist, was obliged to comply with the wretched taste of his audience; so his combat with a lion (a fellow in a lion's skin) in the Haymarket afforded matter of great amusement to the whole town, and poor Nicolini (he acted the part of Hydaspes) knew very well, that the lion had many more admirers than himself (S. 13). Still more the stage was degraded, when a fellow made his appearance, with his face between his feet, or "raising himself on one leg in such a perpendicular posture, that the other grew in a direct line above his head," distorting his body into forms that raised horror and aversion, or when a rareeshow or a moving picture was exhibited, or when a latter-dance was performed. (T. 108.) This corrupt taste of his countrymen is severely censured by Addison in the Project of a new Opera. (S. 31.) The Expedition of Alexander shall give an opportunity of seeing "the dumb conjurer" (Duncan Campbell), a piece of wax-work representing the beautiful Statira, monkeys dancing upon ropes, many foreign birds and beasts, among which an elephant and a dromedary, Mr. Powell's puppet-show, the German artist Mr. Pinkethman's heathen gods, and other diversions which then chanced to be in vogue. The whole opera should not only be acted in Greek language, but also by Greek musicians, and — "this project was received with very great applause"! (S. 31.) Such were the amusements then afforded by the stage.

Let us now consider the popular amusements of those days, as much as we learn of them from Addison. That the English, always fond of sport, had satisfaction in horse-races, is not to be wondered at; but that they took pleasure in ass-races too, might not be known to every one. Addison's opinion is that the first of these diversions may probably have its use, but the other seems to him altogether extraordinary and unaccountable. But the Post-Boy of the 11th and 15th of September 1711 did not only advertise a horse-race and an ass-race upon Coleshill Heath, in Warwickshire, but also a match at grinning!! A gold ring was proposed for him who could out-grin all his competitors. Addison (S. 177. Sept. 18.) left it to the consideration of those who were the patrons of this monstrous trial of skill, "whether or no they are guilty, in some measure, of an affront to their species, in treating after this manner the Human Face Divine and turning that part of us, which has so great an image impressed upon it, into the image of a monkey." It is said, this paper had such an effect, that, immediately after the publishing of it, the proposed grinning-match was laid aside. Such was the respect with which Addison's admonitions were received in those days, even in a distant country. *) The inhabitants of Bath enjoyed a whistling-match. A guinea was to be conferred on the best whistler, that is on him "who could whistle clearest, and go through his tune without laughing, to which, at the same time, he was provoked by the antic postures of a Merry Andrew, who was to stand upon the stage and play his tricks in the eye of the performer." And what do you think of a yawning-match, as it was practised on a twelfth-night,

*) Addisoniana I, p. 202. — Hettner in his "*Geschichte der englischen literatur von 1660—1770*" refers to the same example as a proof of the influence of the Spectator, but incomprehensibly enough, he takes a grinning-match for a "*wettlauf von menschen in fallstricken*." (grin fallstrick?)

among other Christmas gambols, at the house of a very worthy gentleman? He that yawned widest and, at the same time, so naturally, as to produce the most yawns among the spectators, carried home the price of a Cheshire cheese. (S. 179.) — But the strangest of all diversions is to see Nicholas Hart sleep. This man who was every year seized with a periodical fit of sleeping, which began upon the fifth of August and ended on the eleventh of the same month, gained his livelihood by it; for he got money enough from the curious who went to see him sleep, to support him for a twelve-month. (S. 184.)

Among the sociable diversions of that age, dancing was most practised, and it seems that the proper object of dancing, to display beauty, was then less neglected than in our days, when dancing is considered an amusing trifle rather than a real art. French dancing and country-dancing was most cultivated. Hunt the Squirrel, Moll Pately, kissing dances, and a rigadon seem to have been as fashionable and favourite. (S. 67.) — Besides the balls, masquerades were frequently held; but Addison believes them dangerous to the manners. As whispers, squeezes, nods, and embraces are the freedoms of those "libidinous assemblies," and "the whole design of them seems to terminate in assignations and intrigues," he wishes that effectual means might be taken to prevent such meetings. (S. 8.) Another time he gives us a lively description of such a fashionable amusement, in order to show how far a masquerade is useful to the public, and consequently, how far it ought to be encouraged. (G. 154.)

We now proceed to gaming, an entertainment usual among all classes and sexes. Addison thinks it very wonderful, to see most sensible persons pass away a dozen of hours together in shuffling and dividing a pack of cards or in thumping the table with a dice-box. (S. 93 & G. 120.) He most earnestly warns men against the ill consequences of gaming, its pernicious influence on their bodies and minds.*) Especially women are admonished by him to moderation and self-constraint in gaming; they are reminded of the decay of their beauty, the hollow eyes, the haggard looks, the pale complexion, these natural indications of a female gamester. (G. 120.) Why do people resort to such pastimes? Are there not enough diversions, innocent and useful, at the same time? "A man that has a taste of music, painting, or architecture, is like one that has another sense, when compared with such as have no relish of those arts. The florist, the planter, the gardener, the husbandman, when they are only as accomplishments to the man of fortune, are great reliefs to a country life and many ways useful to those who are possessed of them." (S. 93.)

Another useful amusement of life is the reading of good and entertaining books. Addison had promised his female readers to name books worth reading, but as he found the work he had undertaken to be very difficult, he deferred the executing of it, and advised them to keep, in the mean time, to the Spectator; for he flattered himself to see the sex daily improving by these his speculations. (S. 92.) As man is a sociable animal, he may relax himself from the business of the day by an innocent and cheerful conversation. (S. 9.) The conversation with a well-chosen friend "eases and unloads the mind, clears and improves the understanding, engenders thoughts and knowledge, animates virtue and good resolutions, soothes

*) Bassett, a French hazard, crimp and ombre were then most favoured. (S. 323. G. 120); also whisk or lanterloo, one and thirty etc. (S. 245.)

and allays the passions, and finds employment for most of the vacant hours of life." "Next to such an intimacy with a particular person, one would endeavour after a more general conversation with such as are able to entertain and improve those, with whom they converse, which are qualifications that seldom go asunder." (S. 93.) At last there are a great many innocent diversions, very proper to pass away a winter night. Hot-cockles, questions and commands, mottoes, similes, cross purposes, even a party at blindman's-buff, and many other sports and pastimes within doors and by the fire-side are most merry and innocent.

So Addison hopes to reform the manners of his age even-by improving the entertainments and diversions of his countrymen, and he does not regret anything more than that young gentlemen of fortune and quality are so wholly set upon vain pleasures and trifling amusements (G. 111), instead of applying themselves to the study of useful books, or devoting themselves to the fine arts, or to other noble diversions. They should not spare any pains, for what at first is an exercise, becomes at length an entertainment, our employments are changed into our diversions; for our delight in any particular study, art, or science rises and improves in proportion to the application we bestow on it; so remarkable is the effect which custom has upon human nature. (S. 447.)

Addison who looks upon himself as "one set to watch the manners and behaviour of his country," does not think it below his dignity to lash any folly, extravagance, and caprice of his age: he, therefore, does not only endeavour to improve the amusements and diversions of his countrymen, he even takes the fashion in dress under his inspection, and tries to subject it to his well-meaning reform.

Fashion in dress.

Fashion in dress is so variable a thing, that we may even perceive a fluctuation of it during the few years that Addison wrote his contributions to the moral papers. "*Une mode a à peine détruit une autre mode, qu'elle est abolie par une plus nouvelle; qui cède elle-même à celle qui la suit et qui ne sera pas la dernière, telle est notre légèreté.*" (La Bruyère chap. XIII.) Most liable to fluctuations are the fashions in women's wear, and it is to these that Addison chiefly turns his attention. "It is my design to keep a watchful eye over every part of the female sex, and to regulate them from head to foot." (G. 109.)

Women in all ages have been more careful than men to adorn the outside of their heads, and there is not so variable a thing in nature as a lady's head-dress. (S. 98.) By good luck, the fashion of those "commodes" (called by the French *fontange*), which made "*de la tête des femmes la base d'un édifice à plusieurs étages*" (La Bruyère), is antiquated. The transition from this head-dress — which by means of wire bore up the hair and fore-part of the cap, consisting of many folds of fine lace, to a prodigious height*) — to the opposite extreme was very abrupt and sudden. The head has regained the beautiful globular form which is natural to it, and Addison is highly pleased with the coiffure then in fashion.**) He wishes

*) Addisoniana I, CXCH.

**) It is generally known, how soon the head-dress regained its former height.

the fair sex always to consider "how impossible it is for them to add anything that can be ornamental to what is already the masterpiece of nature." (S. 98.) But a short time after, Addison, to his infinite regret, perceives that women adorn their heads with coloured hoods. This fashion soon became so general that some suspected the ladies of showing their political principles in the different colours of their head-dress, while Mr. Honeycomb considered them as signals; but Addison justly referred this diversity of colours in the hoods to the diversity of complexion in the faces of his pretty country-women. (S. 265.)

But there was another fashion which troubled him more than the head-dress; the petticoat. To discover the use of this monstrous machine, in its form not unlike the cupola of St. Paul's, with all its cordage and whalebone, would puzzle the infallibility even of the pope. (G. 140.) The Goddess of Vanity is represented by Addison clothed with a petticoat of a prodigious breadth. (T. 123.) How many reasonable women wear this monstrous invention for no other reason but to look as big and burly as other persons of their quality; such is the constraint of fashion! It was of no avail that Addison reminded them of the great and additional expense which such fashion would bring upon fathers and husbands, of the great temptation it might give to virgins "of acting in security liked married women"; the fair ones resolutely persisted in this fashion. "Woman may be adorned with furs and feathers, pearls and diamonds, ores and silks. The lynx shall cast its skin at her feet to make her a tippet; the peacock, parrot, and swan shall pay contributions to her muff; the sea shall be searched for shells, and the rocks for gems, and every part of nature furnish out its share towards the embellishment of a creature that is the most consummate work of it. All this I shall indulge them in; but as for the petticoat I have been speaking of, I neither can nor will allow it." (T. 116.) But the ladies could not be convinced of their folly. The petticoat puffed out into a most enormous concave and rose every day more and more. Addison did not cease lashing this hideous fashion. "Many men of superstitious tempers, he says, look upon the hoop petticoat as a kind of prodigy that foretells battle and slaughter; I am apt to think, it is a sign that multitudes are coming into the world, rather than going out of it." (S. 127.) It was not enough, that the petticoat hove and swelled, at the same time, it grew shorter and shorter (G. 109), nor did the form of its bottom continue the same; for as it was before an orbicular make, it now looked, as if it were compressed. (G. 114.) All the pains that Addison took, were in vain; he did not succeed in abolishing the petticoat, and his endeavours to reform another part of female dress were crowned with no better success.

Addison was much vexed at the throwing aside of the tucker or the neck-piece, that "slip of fine linen or muslin that used to run in a small kind of ruffle round the uppermost verge of the women's stays and by that means covered a great part of the shoulders and bosom." (G. 100.) In Queen Elizabeth's time women were clothed "down to the very wrists and up to the very chin; the following age discovered their charms a little more, and in proportion as the age refined, the dress still sank lower; now women have thrown away the tucker; the neck takes in almost half the body; how far do they intend to go? Might they not imitate the innocence of their mother Eve rather than her nakedness! (G. 100.) But reproach and invective were the answer to his well-meant advice. Only half a dozen

“superannuated beauties” with their antiquated necks, and some “olives and brunettes,” whose modesty was entirely the result of their complexion, encouraged Addison in his struggle against the naked bosoms. (G. 109.) Nay, when the Evening-Post from July the 18th to July the 21st announced that a placard was published in Rome, forbidding women of whatsoever quality to go with naked breasts, Addison was afraid that the English ladies would take this opportunity of showing their zeal for the Protestant religion and pretend to expose their naked bosoms only in opposition to Popery. (G. 116.) When, immediately after, Addison was informed, that some ladies were willing to throw aside even the modesty-piece, “that small skirt of fine ruffled linen which runs along the upper part of the stays before, and crosses the breasts without rising to the shoulders,” and “to level their breast-work entirely, and to trust to no defence but their own virtue” (G. 118), he pleaded again for the tucker and tried to convince women, that if they would get husbands, they must not show their charms before marriage, and that their being fair was no excuse for their being naked. (G. 134.) “I shall persist in my first design, and endeavour to bring about the reformation in neck and legs, which I have so long aimed at. Let them but raise their stays and lengthen their petticoats and I have done.” (G. 140.) But the ladies did not raise their stays: the tender bosoms were hardened against the weapons of satire; still long time after Addison they braved both decency and weather.

Among the several female extravagancies, there is another absurd fashion, which Addison severely censures, I mean the custom of the ladies to dress themselves in a hat and feather, a riding-coat, and a periwig. These female cavaliers, these hermaphrodites, as he calls them, are by no means to his taste. Their design to smite more effectually the male beholders, is not even attained by them, for men are more likely to be struck by a figure entirely female than by such a one as they may see every day in their glasses. “I hope, therefore, that I shall not hear any more complaints on this subject.”

Poor Addison, it is a vain effort to resist fashion. The ladies did not take off the hoop-petticoat, nor did they cover their bosoms; they did not even resign the steel-bodice, nor the over-high heels, nor the false-rump, though Addison made all these things an object of mockery and derision. The belle of the whole eighteenth century had almost the same appearance. *“Ihre füsse steckten in schuhen von atlas oder sammet, welche in der mitte der sohle mit einem zollhohen stelzchen versehen waren . . . Noch mehr als der damenfusz war der damenkopf mishandelt. Denn auf diesem mauerte sich ein kolossaler, mit drahtgestell und rossharnulst unterbauter, aus verschiedenen stockwerken bestehender, gepuderter, gekleisterter, mit einer masse von bändern, blumen und federn verzierter harturm in die höhe, welcher die länge seiner trägerin nahezu um eine elle oder sogar darüber erhöhte. Der aus fischbeinstübchen aneinandergefügte korsett-harnisch zwängte schultern und arme zurück, presste den busen heraus und schnürte die taille wespenhaft zusammen. Ueber dem umfangreichen drahtgestell des reifrocks spannte sich das seidenkleid . . . Hals, nacken und busen wurden sehr frei getragen. Die geistlichkeit beider confessionen skandalisirte sich höchlich über diese offenerzigkeit, aber meist mit sehr geringem erfolge. Zum statsanzuge der damen gehörte der fächer.”* *) It seems, that the English ladies had an admirable skill in using it; for the Exercise of the Fan was numbered among the accomplishments of a well-bred woman. Addison,

*) Scherr, *geschichte der deutschen frauenwelt*. II, p. 185.

therefore, maliciously proposes to found an academy for the training up of young women in the Exercise of the Fan. What art and skill to handle, to unfurl, to discharge, to flutter the fan! How apt is the flutter of the fan to express the different affections of the belle: there is the angry flutter, the modest flutter, the timorous flutter, the confused flutter etc. If Addison only sees the fan of a disciplined lady, he knows very well whether she laughs, frowns, or blushes. (S. 102.) But the elegant lady would be imperfect without the patches. The Indian kings, in their account of England, say, that "the women look like angels and would be more beautiful than the sun, were it not for little black spots that are apt to break out in their faces and sometimes rise in very odd figures; they wear off very soon, but when they disappear in one part of the face, they are very apt to break out in another." (S. 50.) The choice and arrangement of these black *mouches*, cut from court-plaster in various forms, was one of the most important secrets of the toilet. *) — Addison is not an enemy to the proper ornaments of the fair sex; on the contrary, as nature has poured upon them so many charms and graces, "he would have them bestow upon themselves all the additional beauties that art can supply them with, provided it does not interfere with, disguise, or pervert those of nature." (T. 116.)

Much less attention is given by Addison to the dress of his own sex. The Indian kings, when present in England, wonder that men, instead of adorning their heads with feathers, put on such a monstrous bush of hair, which covers their heads and falls down in a large fleece below the middle of their backs (S. 50). These large full-bottomed wigs were introduced into England soon after the Restoration, and were worn by all men of fashion. **) It is known, that the gentlemen of this period were altogether beardless. The beard had dwindled gradually under the two Charleses, till it was reduced to a slender pair of whiskers, and became quite extinct in the reign of James II. By reading the following papers T. 103, S. 281, G. 97 and T. 151 ***) we can form an idea of a well-dressed gentleman. An embroidered coat, an open waistcoat of brocade, a plume of feathers, a pair of silver-fringed gloves, red heels, a diamond ring, a fine sword-knot, a handkerchief strongly perfumed with musk or orange-flowerwater captivated the heart of many a coquette. Add to these ornaments a cane with a transparent amber head, on which a great part of the beau's behaviour depended — for now he was knocking it upon his shoe, now leaning one leg upon it, now whistling with it on his mouth, — add an eye-glass, the use of which was not so much designed to make him see, as to make him be seen, by others, a snuff-box in silver or agate, the tapping of which was studied with great care, and you will have the portrait of an accomplished beau of that age. "However slightly,

*) Klemm in his book *Die Frauen* (II, 322), gives the following *catalogue des mouches*, taken from *L'art de décapiller la rate*, published in 1756: "*La passionnée au coin de l'œil, la majestueuse au milieu du front, l'enjouée sur le pli que fait la joue en riant, la galante au milieu de la joue, la baiseuse au coin de la bouche, l'effrontée sur le nez, la coquette sur les lèvres, la revêche sur un bouton.*"

**) It is said, those long perukes were invented by a French barber, whose name was Duviller, in order to conceal a deformity in the shoulder, either of the dauphin or the Duke of Burgundy; hence they were likewise called Duvillers. *Addisoniana* I, 204.

***) This paper is commonly ascribed to Steele, and therefore, excluded from Bishop Hurd's edition of Addison's works, though some judges of the style and manner of Addison pretend that it bears evident marks of his hand. *Addisoniana* I, 28.

Addison says, men may regard these particularities and little follies in dress and behaviour, they lead to greater evils. The bearing to be laughed at for such singularities teaches us insensibly impertinent fortitude, and enables us to bear public censure for things which more substantially deserve it." (T. 103.)

Quite different from the fashions of the town are the fashions in the country. Here the fashions of the last age are still in vogue. "The rural beaux have not yet got out of the fashion that took place at the time of the Revolution, but ride about the country in red coats and laced hats, while the women are still trying to outvie one another in the height of their head-dresses." (S. 119.) A lawyer of the Middle Temple who took a journey into the western parts of the realm, was surprised at the variety of garbs and habits in the persons whom he conversed with; he fancied himself walking in a gallery of old family pictures. But people in the country are not only many years behind-hand in their dress, they also mingle the fashions of the different ages. A tolerable periwig and a quite unfashionable hat, a commode of prodigious height and a petticoat of rather modish circumference, are frequently to be seen together. When a lady appears in a country-church in a little head-dress and a hooped petticoat, the surprise of all is beyond measure. (S. 129.)

Such was the outside of the contemporaries of Addison; but in nothing had his endeavours to improve the manners of his countrymen so little success as in his struggle against the domination of fashion. —

Conclusion.

(An ingenious author says: "Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent," and, indeed, there is no defence against reproach, but obscurity. Joseph Addison was not exempted from the fate of all illustrious men; but, without caring too much for the stabs which his enviers and censors tried to give his reputation, he hoped for the impartiality of posterity, whose privilege it is "to adjust the characters of illustrious persons." He flatters himself that a future historian will make honourable mention of him. "It was under the reign of Queen Anne, he will say, that the Spectator published those little diurnal essays which are still extant. We know very little of the name or person of this author, except only that he was a man of a very short face, extremely addicted to silence, and so great a lover of knowledge, that he made a voyage to Grand Cairo for no other reason, but to take the measure of a pyramid. His chief friend was one Sir Roger de Coverley, a whimsical country knight, and a templar whose name he has not transmitted to us. He lived as a lodger at the house of a widow-woman, and was a great humourist in all parts of his life. This is all we can affirm with any certainty of his person and character." We may suppose, that the natural modesty of Addison inspired him with these humorous words, and that he will have cherished more ambitious hopes in the bottom of his heart, but it may never have entered his thoughts that he would once be reckoned among "the greatest benefactors of mankind" (Thackeray and Drake), that he would be praised as one who effected a great social revolution by retorting on vice the mockery which had recently been directed against virtue, so that, since his time, the open violation of decency has always been considered the mark of a fool.

(Macaulay.) This most salutary reform was not accomplished by personal lampoons or detracting pamphlets, but by papers of humour and learning, by essays, moral and divine. The contributions to the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian* will ever be invaluable sources for the history of the civilization of England in that age.

"As for his speculations, the future historian will say, according to Addison, we still understand enough of them to see the diversions and characters of the English nation in his home; not but that we are to make allowance for the mirth and humour of the author, who has doubtless strained many representations of things beyond the truth. For if we interpret his words in their literal meaning, we must suppose that women of the first quality used to pass away whole mornings at a puppet-show; that they attested their principles by their patches; that an audience would sit out an evening to bear a dramatical performance written in a language which they did not understand; that a promiscuous assembly of men and women were allowed to meet at midnight in masques within the verge of the court; with many improbabilities of the like nature. We must, therefore, in these and the like cases, suppose that these remote hints and allusions aimed at some certain follies which were then in vogue, and which at present we have not any notion of."

More than a century and a half have passed, since Addison wrote this passage, full of wit and humour, and our age is not so far remote from the manners of those days, that it will suspect Addison of having represented things beyond the truth. The history of the manners of any period is a mirror presented to the present age. Though we heartily subscribe to the opinion of a constant improvement of mankind, yet many of the *Tattlers* and *Spectators* seem to be written for our own age. I refer to that shallow atheism which spreads more and more among those small dealers in science who, in their self-sufficiency, reject the assistance of a Supreme Being, to fill their minds with patience, hope, and cheerfulness, to comfort them in times of distress and affliction, and most of all in the hour of death. I refer to the superstition of our days, and the eager efforts of a large part of the Roman Catholic clergy to keep men stupid and to revive the belief in witchcraft. *) Much advice that Addison gave his countrymen, is worthy of being considered by our present age: Addison pleaded for the institution of foundling hospitals, and even to-day, in the metropolis of the German Empire, the business of the *engelmacher*, as those are called, who deal in nursing these poor wretched creatures for little money, is in a most flourishing state. Further I refer to the depravation of our stage which, to comply with the corrupt taste of a large part of the public, does not hesitate to give admittance to the modern French drama which, in most cases, is founded on adultery, or to those pieces of trifling contents which have no other purpose but to display pomp and show. **) Finally I refer to the fashions of our days, to those imaginary ornaments of our ladies which only serve to disfigure them. But it is superfluous to point out more

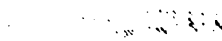
*) Such modern theological writings as Gury's *Theologia moralis* with its chapters on magic and sorcery, on exorcism etc., or Andreas Gaszner's *Modus juvandi afflictos a darmone* are in high credit with the ultramontanes. To see Nippold, *Die gegenwärtige wiederbelebung des hexenglaubens*. Berlin 1875.

**) It is not to be denied, that, since the last few years those immoral French dramas are gradually disappearing from the lists of our stages, and Dumas fils and other writers of the same stamp lose more and more the approbation of the public.

instances which may easily be adapted to our own age; the reader will not have failed to draw his parallel. There is no doubt, but any of the writings of the English poets have been more conducive to maintain and correct the morals of the people, than those of Addison. They abound with that morality, the London Evening Post says many years after the death of Addison, which must ever make them admired by all the lovers of virtue. They are an outline of the mind of their author, who was one of the best of mankind.

Addison is buried in Westminster Abbey, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. His ashes were long unnoticed, whereas many of the minor poets had superb monuments erected to their memories, and it was not until the present century, that his image, skilfully graven, appeared in the Poet's Corner. "Such a mark of national respect was due to the unsullied statesman, to the accomplished scholar, to the master of pure English eloquence, to the consummate painter of life and manners. It was due, above all, to the great satirist, who alone knew how to use ridicule without abusing it, who, without inflicting a wound, effected a great social reform, and who reconciled wit and virtue, after a long and disastrous separation, during which wit had been led astray by profligacy, and virtue by fanaticism." *)

*) Macaulay.



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